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PRACTITIONER
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PRACTITIONER

in Physick

A BIOGRAPHY OF
ABRAHAM WAGNER

1717-1763



by *Andrew S. Berky*

Director, Schwenkfelder Library

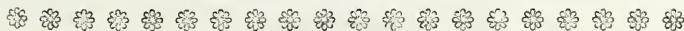
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*If a man look sharply and attentively
he shall see Fortune; for though
she is blind, she is not invisible.*

FRANCIS BACON

PREFACE

THIS BIOGRAPHY of Abraham Wagner is a fragmentary re-construction at best. Most of the areas of investigation failed to produce definitive answers and inference had to supply that which history withheld. The usual physical milestones are present in part—a smattering of dates, letters and books—but they serve only to suggest the spirit and warmth which made the man. The basic materials for the narrative were gathered from two continents and deposited in the Schwenkfelder Library over a period of more than fifty years. The very fact of their physical presence was temptation, if not justification, enough for this study.

And yet the story is infinitely worth telling for it deals with an individual who was a consummate scholar at the age of twelve, an accomplished poet at fifteen and an established physician at twenty—all of this in an age when formal education was practically nonexistent and legitimate medical practice was just beginning to emerge from a haze of superstition and medieval alchemy. There were no compelling reasons why Wagner should have risen above the majority of his contemporaries. The spark which ignites isolated individuals and propels them to uncommon achievements remains something of a

mystery and this story does not pretend to be an investigation of its source. It is little more than a record of its presence.

The section on medicine suffers a great deal from a lack of adequate reference material. Medical history in this country generally begins with Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia and Joseph Warren of Boston. It is not generally known that some very competent physicians were swept along in the tide of German immigration to Colonial Pennsylvania. There were no great syntheses of thought to attract attention, but the German practitioner was no less progressive than his English colleagues. Indeed there is some cause for believing that medical theorists in Germany were expanding the frontiers of knowledge long before there was similar activity in other areas. The language barrier placed the Germans in Pennsylvania at a great disadvantage for several generations and it manages to put a crimp in some sections of this narrative, particularly that chapter setting forth an analysis of Wagner's poetry. This study has many other shortcomings and it approaches the goal on shaky limbs, but given enough time, it may yet cross the line.

I want to acknowledge the helpfulness of Selina Gerhard Schultz, who gave unsparingly of her time and ability that this book might approach her own standards of excellence. To the other friends who lent wisdom and encouragement to this modest production, I bequeath these lines from Montaigne:

This book employment is as painful as any other, and as great an enemy to health, which ought to be the first thing considered. . . . If, by being over-studious, we impair our health and spoil our good-humor, the best pieces we have, let us give it over.

ANDREW S. BERKY

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PRACTITIONER
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SILESIA

ABRAM WAGNER'S father was apparently a stubborn man. As a matter of fact, Melchior Wagner was once characterized as being "outstanding in his obstinance". But then, questions of this sort are generally quite relative and reflect little more than the personal opinion of someone with an entirely different viewpoint on any given subject. The subject in this case was the matter of catechetical instruction for Melchior Wagner's children and the personal opinion with respect to his character was put forward by a Jesuit Priest named Johann Milan.

Neither Wagner nor Milan were aware of the fact that they were caught up in one of history's great movements and it was impossible that they should agree. The areas of discord had their origin in the Protestant Reformation which introduced many complex changes into the European way of life, almost two hundred years before these two men found themselves at odds. This great social and religious upheaval tore apart the religious unity of Europe and spawned a host of rival churches, each with its own peculiar relationship to Salvation. In Germany, Lutheranism and Anabaptism took great numbers of the lower classes out of the Catholic fold, but if church life for

the protesting groups became less colorful and conventional, it lost nothing in drama and stimulation.

By the first decade of the eighteenth century, the Roman Catholic Church had lost much of its animosity toward the Protestant groups and was disposed to view them as erring brethren, rather than malicious heretics, condemned through eternity. But there were occasional lapses marked by heated controversies and open warfare, situations which were generally instigated by changes on the political scene. One of the fundamental tenets of the Reformation held that the ruling prince in each province should direct and control the church, uproot heresy and strive for a pure faith. Catholic princes were similarly intolerant, driven by a traditional abhorrence of heretical ideas.

This was especially true within the realm of the Holy Roman Empire, a loose confederation of central European states which had not entirely shaken off all of its medieval encumbrances. Catholic princes ruled alongside of Protestant princes and in most provinces the subjects were compelled to confess the religious persuasion of the monarch.

In those states where Lutheranism and Catholicism managed to maintain an uneasy status quo, the lot of those who shunned both teachings was especially trying. Melchior Wagner was one of a small group who professed belief in a divinity along the lines of doctrine set forth by Caspar von Schwenkfeld, a prominent layman of the Reformation era. The Schwenkfelders resisted many subtle and, unfortunately, hostile attempts at conversion in the years following the Reformation, and while this pressure was never fatal it succeeded in restricting the number of adherents to the group. In 1719, Melchior Wagner could count less than two thousand individuals who shared his views in theological matters.

The Schwenkfelders maintained their precarious existence in a dozen or so rural communities in Lower Silesia. The immediate area was predominately Lutheran and thus it may seem rather strange that

Wagner's quarrel should have been with a Jesuit Priest. But Father Milan was sent to the community to complete a program of unification and conformity inaugurated by the Lutheran ministerium in the principality of Liegnitz. In 1718 the ministerium sent a report to the Imperial Council at Liegnitz, stating that the conversion of the Schwenkfelders would be an easy matter, providing the government backed up the program. Unhappily for the Lutherans, the composition of the court was then largely Catholic, and it reasoned that if the matter of conversion was going to be quite simple, the Schwenkfelders might as well be moved over into the Catholic Church. Accordingly, much to the chagrin of the Lutheran plaintiffs, they suggested that a Catholic mission be founded there for that purpose. Charles VI was only too happy to comply and less than a year later, Melchior Wagner and Johann Milan were swept together by the ebbing tide of the Protestant Revolt. The conflicting forces had to be resolved on a personal level.

For Milan, the choice, if any, was quite easy. He had been dispatched to the village of Upper Harpersdorf by the Roman Emperor and King of Austria, with express instructions to found a Catholic mission "for the conversion of the Schwenkfelders". The procedure to be followed was quite simple—baptize the infants, enlist the children in Catholic schools for the proper catechetical training and cajole the parents into attending mass. Any alternative behavior would have removed the reason for his existence. For Wagner, the choice was a bit more difficult. He wasn't completely convinced of the necessity for religious regimentation and he cherished deeply the opportunity to share with his own children the same religious heritage which had been imparted to him. Disobedience would probably mean fines, indignities and eventual imprisonment. There was an ominous finality about the Imperial Edict establishing the Mission.

And thus, for Wagner, conformity appeared to be the only way out of the dilemma. After all, Milan had the backing of the Holy Roman Emperor, the ecclesiastical powers of the Roman Church,

and the civil authorities of the principality, while Wagner's personal views were shared by a mere handful of people without representation or influence.

In the beginning, Milan was probably convinced that Wagner had reached just such a conclusion, for on December 14, 1725, Melchior brought one of his children to the church for baptism. Milan himself performed the ceremony and later that day noted in the church record book that Wagner had brought his child "freely"—without being compelled to do so.

But somewhere along the line, Melchior Wagner rebelled, utterly and completely. The next entry in the Mission record book at Harpersdorf was terse and non-explanatory: "M. Wagner refuses to cooperate with the Mission". The lines were drawn and Johann Milan and Melchior Wagner found themselves diametrically opposed on a problem which was hardly of their own making. In the final analysis it became a matter of principle and if Milan was convinced that Wagner was being stubborn, Wagner also must have lamented the fact of Milan's obstinance.

For the first twenty-one years of his life, Abraham Wagner was exposed to this controversy, and it became the major factor in shaping his destiny. In the beginning, the religion of the father is always the religion of the son. Abraham was born on March 22, 1715 in Upper Harpersdorf, where his father operated a small farm. The family was enlarged by the addition of a sister, Susanna, born in 1717 and one brother, Melchior, born in 1725. Tradition states that there was a fourth child, Christopher, but it has been impossible to confirm this report.

Harpersdorf was a tranquil rural village, lying in a broad valley midway between two prominent mountain peaks, Spitzberg and Gröditzberg. The distance from summit to summit was hardly more than an hours walk and the villages strung out along the road were so close to one another that it was difficult to determine where one ended and the next began. In Harpersdorf, the sprawling half-

timbered farmhouses provided a strange contrast to the lofty village church, easily the most impressive structure in the community. Indeed, this edifice was out of all proportion to the apparent population of the area. The answer lay in the fact that it was originally built to accommodate Lutheran refugees from the neighboring imperial territory where Protestants were not tolerated as a religious organization at the end of the Thirty Years War in 1648.

The wide road passing through the center of the community led to Goldberg, a cloth manufacturing center numbering five or six thousand inhabitants. In Goldberg, the farmers of Harpersdorf found the necessary markets for their flax, woven goods and produce. And there was another attraction in Goldberg for the Schwenkfelders. Pastor Schneider of the Lutheran Church was unusually tolerant and sympathetic with their beliefs. During the first two decades of the eighteenth century they flocked in large numbers to his church, a practice which failed to endear them with the authorities of their own village parish who were struggling valiantly to support their oversized building.

The mighty Spitzberg towering over the surrounding plains must have been a constant challenge to Abraham Wagner during his boyhood. A mysterious urge to climb and explore seizes all young men. And how many times did he listen attentively to the "Fable of Spitzberg", an age old tale which purported to explain the concentration of Schwenkfelders in that region?

Satan gathered up all the pernicious and wicked Schwenkfelders out of the entire Dukedom of Silesia, placed them in a capacious bag and was transporting them to the Lower Regions, where they of course belonged, but as he passed through the air with his heavy load of heretics, he carelessly struck the summit of this jagged peak, tore the bag and spilled its contents of Schwenkfelders down the mountain.

Some of Abraham's more solemn moments must have been spent at the "Viehweg", a rather prominent rise several hundred yards across the way from the church in the direction of the neighboring village of Probsthayn. For many years the village cattle plodded over this strip of land on their way to pasture, unmindful of the fact that it was something of a "Potter's Field" where the disgraced and the criminal were buried by public decree. Before Abraham's tenth birthday this hilly plot of ground was dedicated to a more somber purpose. Denied the use of the cemetery in the Lutheran churchyard, the Schwenkfelder families were forced to bury their dead in the same cursed plot of ground. The perplexing circumstances of death have always been moving and imposing, but when they are coupled with an atmosphere of persecution and rejection, the impressions on the human soul are vivid and enduring. Out of experiences such as these, Abraham Wagner developed a sense of inferiority and lowness that flavored the remainder of his life.

But many of these sobering moments were offset by the gladdening host of activities in connection with operating the farm. Life in Silesia during the forepart of the eighteenth century was relatively simple, in spite of the fact that vestiges of the medieval system were still in evidence. In a sense, the Wagners paid feudal tribute to the von Mauschwitz family in the manor at Armenruh, but for all practical purposes Melchior owned his farm and the taxation was not excessive—several bushels of grain and a few dollars each year. Abraham's boyhood days were certainly enlivened by bounding sheep, new-born calves, cackling chickens and all the other engaging things and events on a farm which fill each day to overflowing.

And Abraham's father, along with his wife, Anna Yeakel, found time enough to impart some education to the children. Indeed, there are indications that they were eminently successful, for at the mellow age of nine years, Abraham was engrossed in copying a small manuscript volume containing theological letters written by Christian

Hohburg, a prominent but much maligned scholar, who lived for a time in Hamburg in the middle of the previous century. There was much more involved than a mere exercise in penmanship, for Hohburg had been in close contact with Schwenkfelder leaders of his time, and the letters which Abraham copied discussed the contributions which Schwenkfeld had made to Hohburg's own religious philosophy.

It is questionable whether any of the intricate theology rubbed off on nine year old Abraham, but he continued bravely through more than a hundred arduous pages, misspelling, crossing out and re-writing. And there were some practical difficulties involved too, because Abraham illuminated each page in one or two colors as he progressed. Discipline was both external and internal in the Wagner household.

In 1726, age eleven, he acquired his first arithmetic book, a forboding volume containing no less than 1334 pages! It was Johann Hemelings *Self Teaching Mathematics Book*, printed at Wolfenbüttel in 1705. Hemeling's course of instruction ran the gamut from simple counting through algebra to polygonar and pyrgoidal reckoning. It's impossible to calculate how much perseverance would be required to conclude such a study, or how far into the bewildering numbers Abraham's curiosity carried him, but he must have been equal to a good part of the task for in 1738 he felt that the course of study was appropriate for his younger brother and he presented it to Melchior two weeks before his thirteenth birthday.

The rudiments of Greek—do any language students glance inside a Greek grammar prior to college days? The following inscription is taken from Jacob Gretser's *Rudiments of the Greek Language*, published in 1701:

Anno 1727 in mense julio
Possessor hujus libri
Vocatur Abrahamus Wagnerus

"Abrahamus Wagnerus" was but twelve years old when he inscribed, in Latin, his Greek grammar. But, of course, Latin was prerequisite to Greek and the instructions for acquiring a working knowledge of Greek were written in Latin.

Was Abraham Wagner unusually advanced and brilliant? In terms of twentieth century standards, yes, but his education was matched by several of his friends and contemporary students with a similarity too uncanny to have been mere coincidence. For example, Christopher Schultz, a neighbor living in Lower Harpersdorf, at age nine was also copying extracts dealing with theological perplexities. Three years later Schultz had copied a complete course of study in mathematics and a latin grammar numbering 217 pages. These youths certainly possessed more than average intelligence, but it would hardly be correct to call them precocious.

Quite obviously, though, the guidance of Abraham's education must have been transferred from the hands of his parents to someone more capable and conversant with affairs of knowledge. Harpersdorf's parochial schools, Lutheran and Catholic, were out of the question as far as the Wagners were concerned. Christopher Schultz's parents engaged Schwenkfelder lay-pastor George Weiss as a suitable tutor for their son and the two men developed an intimate, life-long relationship which saw the younger man take over the mantle of leadership some years after Weiss' death.

It would not be presumptuous to suggest that Abraham's parents arranged a similar relationship for their son. Was George Weiss also Abraham's tutor? In 1733 Weiss engaged in a lengthy correspondence with Abraham in which profound questions of theology were discussed, but Weiss wrote hundreds of such instructional letters to many other young Schwenkfelders during the same period.

A more probable selection would be Dr. Melchior Heebner, a Schwenkfelder physician living in Upper Harpersdorf. Heebner was certainly in an enviable position to counsel and supervise the proper studies in preparing Abraham for a career in medicine. His own

knowledge had been acquired directly from Dr. Martin John of Hockenau. Heebner began his studies in John's house when he was barely eleven years old and his apprenticeship continued until John's death. After Melchior Heebner died in 1738, his medical practice was continued by Abraham Wagner, just as Schultz succeeded Weiss. Precedent may not establish fact, but it provides a fair basis for conjecture.

In any event, Abraham progressed in his studies—and so did Father Johann Milan. In the first years following his arrival in Harpersdorf, Milan was exceedingly friendly. He chatted freely and at great length with the Schwenkfelder families, ingratiating himself wherever he might. And he pored for long hours over the Schwenkfelder catechisms and sermon books, striving to understand the nature of the schism with Protestant and Catholic dogma. He urged several of the spiritual leaders of the group to prepare expositions on one or another phase of the Schwenkfelder confession of faith every week. But to no avail. For Father Milan, success had to be measured by the number of conversions and in 1721 there was nothing to report.

Reversing his tactics, Milan ordered the women and children to attend mass at the Mission. There was no response and he attempted to force the issue. On December 18, 1722, four women, one of them a girl of sixteen years, were placed in stocks in front of the church. They were forced to kneel on the ground, in severe cold, for four days and nights. The astounded and bewildered Schwenkfelders were powerless to retaliate and the nightmarish aspects of this incident left an indelible impression on the mind of Abraham Wagner.

And there were many other insults and overt acts of abuse to endure. A new edict issued from Vienna in 1725 directed the Mission to "exert every possible effort" to complete the task. Punishments and fines were doubled, minor children were allocated to Catholic guardians and infants were taken to the Mission by force where they were summarily baptized. In 1726, having suffered indignities out

of all proportion to the fancied sinfulness of their ways, several hundred Schwenkfelders fled across the border into Saxony. Melchior Wagner elected to stay in Harpersdorf. The decision to migrate could not have been easy under any circumstances, but neither was it a simple matter to remain.

There were a few conversions as a direct result of the new edict, but most of the remaining group managed to resist the increased pressure. And then the besieged Schwenkfelders received some assistance from an unexpected source. As his missionary spirit increased in fervor and fury, Milan neglected to respect a distinction between those families which were avowed Schwenkfelders and those which were Lutheran—after all, a Protestant by any other name was still a Protestant. By 1726, Milan found himself in a community which was united in its hostility toward the Mission. And, as acts of violence always invite violence in retaliation, Milan had some unpleasant experiences of his own.

Early in June, 1726, he received an anonymous letter written by several townsfolk, threatening to burn down his house. By pure coincidence, Milan's house, which had been appropriated from a dispossessed Schwenkfelder, began to burn some weeks later and Harpersdorf was never the same again. The fire, "of undetermined origin", started shortly after midday on the first floor of the house while Milan was upstairs entertaining several of his friends. By nightfall, twenty-one other houses, four barns, the schoolhouse, and the splendid Lutheran Church were reduced to ashes.

Johann Milan was never the same again, either. Soon after the disastrous fire, he retired from Harpersdorf for three months, hoping that his absolute fall from grace would be forgotten, but on his return he soon found that continued residence would be impossible. On March 23, 1728, he relinquished his post to Jesuit Father Carolus Regent, closing his career in Harpersdorf with these words: *Ich bin satt! Ubersatt!* (I am fed up. More than fed up). *My hours are filled with torment. I don't want to see myself become martyred.*

By this time there might well have been some difference of opinion in Harpersdorf as to exactly which side was being martyred, but unlike Milan, Carolus Regent was hardly a man to worry about his fate on this earth. While the Lutheran Congregation was struggling with the erection of their new church building, Regent laid some plans of his own. On March 1, 1732, he received permission from the Emperor to erect a chapel in Harpersdorf. Regent could now number 138 converted Catholics in the greater community. How to finance such a structure? Regent received permission from the government to increase the fines on the obdurate Schwenkfelders; all in all, a happy arrangement. Melchior Wagner paid an enormous fine of forty-five rix-dollars for his family, an amount that certainly represented more than a few transgressions and a great deal of dogged determination.

But all men have their breaking point and by January, 1736, Melchior Wagner had given up the fight. The incident which finally managed to shatter his resistance was the opening of the new Catholic school on January first of that year. Regent was adamant. Attendance at this school was going to be compulsory.

Four weeks later, on January 29, the Wagners abandoned their homestead and fled across the border into Saxony, following the route taken by the previous exiles. Melchior Wagner died in Saxony several months later, but in making the decision to flee, he presented his children with the priceless gift of a new opportunity to live with dignity.

Back in Silesia, Carolus Regent closed the book on Melchior Wagner after adding two more entries.

January 29, 1736. Fled with his family

*March 23, 1736. Moved Catholic Sigmund Rettmoyer onto
(Wagner's farm.)*

SAXONY

THE WAGNER exodus was certainly not begun without careful preparations and their subsequent roving were far from aimless, but there were still more than a few perplexing problems to resolve. The main body of Schwenkfelder Exiles had departed from Saxony to Pennsylvania two years before, a move which was prompted by the increasingly hostile attitude of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities of Upper Lusatia in Saxony. Frederick Augustus, who ruled Saxony until 1733, had originally been a Protestant, but the dictates of international politics compelled him to join the Church of Rome in order that he might become the nominal King of Poland. This maneuver swiftly transformed the entire cast of religious life in Saxony and settled a hostile environment upon all members of the Protestant faith. Thus, the later groups of migrants had no assurance of a kindly reception, one circumstance which had greatly eased the transition for the main body of exiles.

Then too, there was the vexing problem of making a living. The Wagners had not been able to convert their farm into cash since such transactions were expressly forbidden by the edict which threatened prospective buyers of Schwenkfelder properties with harsh fines.

Furthermore, too many overt acts of acquiring money would have aroused suspicion in view of the pattern of flight established by the previous fugitives. Trade apprenticeships in Saxony were tedious affairs, closely controlled by guild members and government authorities. The land was intensely farmed and the possibilities of renting tillable land on any basis were exceedingly slim. Abraham, as a young physician in a strange community, would surely experience a great deal of difficulty in developing a clientele capable of supporting the entire family, a clientele which would have to be drawn from a population composed almost exclusively of Catholics and Lutherans.

But there was one possibility which gave the venture a fair chance of succeeding. Several other families that migrated to Saxony the previous year had succeeded in renting a ship from the firm of Buchs and Glassey at Hamburg. As soon as the complement of passengers could be filled to underwrite the expense of the voyage, the group intended to join the other Schwenkfelders in America. Word of this tentative arrangement circulated around Harpersdorf during the winter of 1736 and it was certainly one of the determining factors in the Wagner's decision to flee.

Christopher Heebner, an acquaintance who slipped over the border in the fall, found temporary asylum in the village of Berthelsdorf among a remnant of the main body of exiles who had resolved not to undertake the rigors of the tedious and dangerous voyage to the New World. Heebner sent a message back to Harpersdorf on December 26, stating that there was some cause to believe that Schwenkfelder refugees might be tolerated in Berthelsdorf for at least one year, ample time to complete arrangements for the remainder of the trip. This information provided the Wagners with an intermediate goal and on January 29 they began a journey prompted by despair, but conceived in hope.

Twenty miles to the border—five or six hours walk under favorable conditions, but the Wagners took clothing, food and several trunks full of unexpendable household objects and utensils. Twenty-

one year old Abraham probably pulled a two-wheeled cart containing some of the meager possessions that would be called upon to make their future existence tolerable. And in making the final selections, Abraham found it impossible to abandon his beloved books. As a parting gift, his grandmother presented him with a large folio manuscript, Michael Hiller's *Postill*, a book of sermons for the church year which had been the property of his distinguished great-grandfather, chemist George Hauptmann, who years earlier had borne the brunt of attacks on Schwenkfelder doctrine.

Under these circumstances, the first leg of the journey to the border took eight or nine hours. Through the quiet darkness of the winter night, the family trudged over the Katzbach Mountains, moving in silence through the slumbering villages and avoiding the city of Löwenburg. Dawn found them on the banks of the Bober River at Greiffenberg. A toll—one or two pennies—was exacted by an unsuspecting guard and the Wagners were free to continue on their way to Berthelsdorf, some thirty miles further.

Berthelsdorf was an unusual community in many ways. For one thing, the Lord of the Manor was Ludwig von Zinzendorf, a gifted Count who became an ordained minister in the Moravian Church in 1734. In addition to the usual estates and villages, the enlightened Count established and administered several small communities for the express purpose of receiving religious refugees from Silesia and other sections under the dominion of Austria. The village of Berthelsdorf was one of these havens for the persecuted.

The Wagners may have taken up temporary quarters in the *Gemeindehaus*, a community meeting place erected by the first group of Schwenkfelders whose sojourn in Berthelsdorf lasted eight years, or they may have found accommodations with some of the other families that preceded them there. In any event their stay in Berthelsdorf was destined to be brief.

On February 17, Baltzer Kurtz in Harpersdorf found an opportunity to send a message to Christopher Heebner, seeking informa-

tion about their reception and sending greetings to Abraham Wagner. In a letter to his daughter, Rosina, Christopher Heebner indirectly indicated to Kurtz the nature of their circumstances:

We had decided among ourselves to stay here for a year, but this didn't hold out at all and time has flown so rapidly that we are not permitted to remain longer than one more week. So we have agreed that when the time is up we will travel further and we may not see you again in this world.

Two unfortunate developments disrupted the carefully laid plans of the exiles. The first of them took place back in Harpersdorf where Carolus Regent, incensed by the periodic departure of Schwenkfelder families, enlisted the aid of a number of constables in preventing further flights across the border. On February 9, 1736, he appeared at the house of widow Barbara Beyer with three constables in an attempt to restrain her son-in-law, Jeremias Wiegner, from joining the exodus. A violent battle ensued and Regent reported to the Magistrate that he was "murderously beaten on the back and both arms". The following day another tumult arose at the burial of Abraham Dittrick, and during the night of the eleventh, Christopher Weinhold, a Schwenkfelder who fled in 1725, returned across the border with three soldiers from Saxony, knocked at Regent's door and demanded reimbursement for his farm which had been appropriated by the Catholics. That was enough for Regent. Fearing for his life, as well as the ultimate success of his assignment, he placed several of the Schwenkfelder leaders in prison and subsequent retaliations succeeded in preventing any more people from fleeing to Saxony.¹

The second unfortunate development was the expulsion of Count

¹ Balthaser Jäckel, George Seipt and Gottfried Mühmer were placed in the prison at Liegnitz. Jäckel died in jail late in May, of "hunger and grief." Mühmer and Seipt were still in custody during September and their subsequent fate is not known.

Zinzendorf from his own estate at Berthelsdorf. The Austrian authorities had long taken a dim view of Zinzendorf's haven for religious exiles only a few miles across the border. They complained that too many of their subjects were leaving and becoming his vassals. Several formal objections were filed at the court in Saxony during 1735, and finally, on March 20, 1736, a decree of banishment was issued against Zinzendorf. This act removed all assurance of protection in Saxony for the Schwenkfelders and contributed to the dilemma alluded to in Christopher Heebner's letter.

Quite obviously, it would be impossible to recruit any more Schwenkfelders from Silesia to fill out the passenger list for the voyage to America. Furthermore, they had only one week in which to remove themselves from Berthelsdorf, a contingency which the Count was spared since he was traveling in Holland at the time the decree was announced.

Only one present possibility remained for the Wagner family and that was the town of Görlitz, some twenty miles to the north of Berthelsdorf. It was in Görlitz that Abraham's old preceptor Dr. Melchior Heebner had found asylum during the eight years that elapsed from the time of his voluntary exile until he found an opportunity to move on to Pennsylvania in 1734. Görlitz was then a small manufacturing center numbering 6,000 inhabitants and the town senate had shown evidences of being exceptionally tolerant toward religious exiles.

Accordingly, in the last week of March, the Wagners and several other families packed up their belongings and moved on. Several of them found quarters with friends in the town and the remainder of the group was invited to stay in a small house (*hinterhause*) made available by Pastor Schäfer of the Lutheran Church. In an official communique to the town senate, the Schwenkfelders indicated that they had abandoned Berthelsdorf because it was "demanded of several of them that they become Catholic". They petitioned the senate for permission to remain no longer than three months.

There must have been misgivings and doubt about the outcome of the petition, but in the meantime there were old friends to greet and a host of pressing details to consider. Abraham Wagner was certainly overjoyed to visit with Eva Libtz and Maria Nicholai, the daughters of his old friend, Dr. Melchior Heebner. Both daughters found husbands in Görlitz before the Schwenkfelder group sailed to Pennsylvania two years before and they were then members of the Lutheran Church in that city.

On May 18, Abraham found an opportunity to forward a note to Dr. Heebner. The envelope carried the following instruction: "This is to be handed over to my beloved friend, Melchior Hübner in Falckner Swamp in Pennsylvania".

The note itself was chatty and relaxed, containing no intimation of discomfort or preoccupation with the future.

Görlitz, 18 May, 1736

Beloved Friend:

Anna Liederin of Laubgrund urged me to write this brief letter to you, when she came to visit us and some other friends at Görlitz and Berthelsdorf a week before Whitsuntide. She (as well as her children) sends greetings to all of you along with best wishes for your well being. She reported that she had also been with Christian Maurer who likewise wishes to be remembered to you and that they are all living and well.

A short time ago she had seen your brother George in "Feldhäuser" and he said that he had wanted to write to you. He reported the following: that he and his family are still pretty healthy and that the Mission has not disturbed them lately, sends his heartiest greetings to all of you and wishes you the best of everything in body and soul. He would like to have definite information from you sometime about living conditions in Pennsylvania, what occupations

are followed, etc., in case he finds it necessary to come over. These are the things he discussed with her.

The Lord at Hockenau often thinks of you and hopes you are prospering. Along with this are my hearty best wishes to you, your wife and son, George. May God's love give you and us strength and power. To him be the power and the glory, world without end.

Abraham Wagner

The rest of the Görlitz story is rather vague. There are no indications pointing to the manner in which the Wagners made a livelihood or whether Abraham was permitted to practice as a physician. Melchior died during the Spring and was probably interred on the cemetery at the Lutheran Church, but what adjustments his passing caused are not known. Abraham, as eldest son, certainly became the nominal head of the family, but a knowledge of his activities during this period is confined to the realm of intellectual performance.

Nineteen years later he reviewed the course of his studies at Görlitz in a lengthy letter to Gerhard Tersteegen, erstwhile physician and mystic living in Mülheim.

"The beginning of my acquaintance with you, my dearly beloved brother in Christ Jesus, took place in the year 1736 when I, along with several other families, escaped from my fatherland Silesia, to Saxony on account of religious persecution. There I came across your *Blumen-Gärtlein* as well as the discourse on Thomas à Kempis, books on *The Coming Christ* and about Bernieres hidden life. These books were all edifying and assisted me greatly in proceeding on my path to God. From the days of my tenderest childhood, as far back as my memory goes, my heart was inclined to God".

This inclination became manifest in the poetry which Abraham composed during the period of exile in Saxony. At least six of his extant poems were written there, all of them prayerful meditations, reflecting a sense of oppression in this world and expressing the plaintive hope that relief from anxiety and concern would be won in the future Kingdom of Heaven.

In the spring of 1737, the Wagners were expelled from Saxony. The town magistrate had approached the Royal Council on behalf of the Schwenkfelders on several occasions without success. On May 3, he made one final attempt, declaring that it would be highly advantageous to the community and to the state if these people would be permitted to remain, inasmuch as they were industrious and gainfully employed. The petition was rejected on May 30, and he was directed to oust, without further delay, any members of the group who refused to accept membership in the Lutheran Church of Görlitz.

This one, final, tragic act of intolerance was the inevitable product of a religious system that could not extricate itself from political intrigue. It was an act of rejection completely foreign to Christian doctrine, and yet it was a fulfillment of Protestant political dogma in post-Reformation Europe—the right, the duty of the state to dictate matters of religion on a geographical basis. Existence in such a climate of opinion was impossible for those who devoutly believed that spiritual selection and worship bore no resemblance to civil procedures or allegiance. The alternatives were reduced to one.

There were several preliminary meetings and eventually fourteen people determined to suffer the hardships and risk the dangers of a voyage to America. In addition to the four surviving members of Melchior Wagner's family there were the families of Christopher Heebner, Christopher Krauss and widow Anna Wagner, plus Maria Hoffrichter, the sole member of her family to migrate.

Very little else is known of their subsequent travelings, but there is no cause to believe that their experiences differed widely from

those of the previous migrants from Görlitz to America. They undoubtedly boated down the Elbe River as far as Hamburg, thence by coast-wise sailing ship through the North Sea to Rotterdam.

The Wagners must have found some comfort in the fact that the vessel which was to take them to America was the very same ship which successfully transported their Silesian friends three years before. Furthermore, John Stedman, the doughty and irascible captain of the *Saint Andrew*, a brigantine of Scotch origin, had completed at least eleven successful crossings prior to 1737. The vessel left Rotterdam on July 11, crossed the North Sea once again to Cowes, England to receive final clearance and then turned west. Twelve weeks later, the stubby little ship docked at Philadelphia after an unusually long voyage, "with the loss . . . of many persons, who had died at sea and had been buried in the great ocean".

THE NEW WORLD

PENNSYLVANIA in 1737 was something new under the sun. Fifty-five years after William Penn launched his "Holy Experiment", the colony was the only large area in the world where men and women of different religions and races were ruled by the same standards. The code of laws establishing the structure of government reflected an enlightened thought far in advance of anything on the European scene. Faith in humanity and religious tolerance were the basic concepts running through the fiber of government.

Of governments in general, Penn had his say in the preface to the *Frame of Government*: "I know what is said by the several admirers of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, which are the rule of one, a few, and many, and are the three common ideas of government, when men discourse on the subject. But I choose to solve the controversy with this small distinction, and it belongs to all three: any government is free to the people under it (whatever be the frame) where the laws rule, and the people are a party to those laws, and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, and confusion". And Penn was something more than a pure idealist, for he realized that: "governments, like clocks, go from the motion men give them, and as gov-

ernments are made and moved by men, so by men are they ruined too”.

How far had the administration of this enlightened program deviated from the original intent by the close of the first half-century? Surprisingly little. There had been some stiffening up in the severity of punishment for various criminal offenses and some of the English authorities were not kindly disposed to the large influx of German immigrants, but individual freedom remained largely unbreached. Colonial affairs were administered by a governor and council, plus an assembly composed of representatives elected by property holders in the counties.

The most striking difference between the new world of Pennsylvania and the old world of the Holy Roman Empire was evident in the attitude toward religious diversity. In 1725, Emperor Charles VI replied to a Schwenkfelder petition for relief from oppression in these words: “the Schwenkfelder congregations in their submissive requests to be tolerated in their confession of faith in future, are once for all refused, and they shall never hereafter venture to present any new supplications. . . .” Almost fifty years earlier, William Penn included in his Charter the following decree: “All persons living in this province, who confess and acknowledge the one almighty and eternal God, to be the creator, upholder and ruler of the world, and that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in no way be molested or prejudiced for religious persuasion or practice in matters of faith and worship, nor shall they be compelled at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry whatever”.

Here then was the fulfillment of a Reformation so nobly begun almost two centuries before. It remained for a new world and a fresh approach to realize fully the benefits of a movement which became stifled in political tradition, religious tyranny and economic compromise. The effective reformers of the sixteenth century could not surmount the difficulties involved in placing enlightened Christianity

above the state which was largely held to receive its powers over men by a "divine ordination". In the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania, the rights of the state were found in the conscience of each man and in his natural capacity for self-government. To William Penn, the proper occupation of "Protestancy" was something more than reform within an established frame of reference, it was also "the restoring to every man his just right of inquiry and choice".

And Pennsylvania flourished as none of the other colonies did. Trade with England and the West Indies was vigorous, while the passenger boats sailing from the continent disgorged shipload upon shipload of migrants onto the wharfs at Philadelphia. At least 15,000 refugees from Switzerland and Germany had infiltrated Penn's woods by 1727. The Proprietary land office indeed did a "land office business" as these pioneers sought vacant tracts along streams and among the sheltered hills.

It was the kind of country which presented the proper challenge to the average immigrant, who more often than not had a rural background. The Germans had a consummate skill for agriculture and their natural industry and thrift soon transformed a wooded hillside into a fertile field. The products of their labors filled the Philadelphia markets and quickened the economic cycle which brought them imported merchandise in return. Lutheran and Moravian, Catholic and Calvinist, Mennonite and Quaker, all labored together, too intent with the exhilarating experience of freedom and opportunity to renew old grievances. Pennsylvania in 1737 was all things to all men.

It must have been a lot to Abraham Wagner, his mother, sister Susanna and brother Melchior, when they stood on the Philadelphia wharf in the midst of all their earthly belongings on September 26, 1737. Would your legs ever get accustomed to the feel of solid earth again? Would anyone be on hand to meet a ship that was three weeks overdue? Was there any fresh water available—and fresh food? Were there any officials on the wharf who could speak Ger-

man? In which direction was Falkner Swamp and how many hours would it take to get there? And would you ever be able to forget the cramped quarters, stale air, the births and deaths, the fights and the storms, the grim wait for a landfall, the violent shriek of the wind and the terrifying darkness of a hundred nights locked up in a dark hold with 300 other wretched souls?

But there wasn't too much time for reflection and Abraham, the only male adult in the family, had to fall in line for the procession through the muddy, rutted street to the courthouse where the immigrants were compelled to render the oath of allegiance to the King of Great Britain:

I, Abraham Wagner, do solemnly and sincerely promise and declare that I will be true and faithful to King George the Second and do sincerely and truly Profess, Testifie and Declare that I do from my heart abhor, detest and renounce . . . that wicked Doctrine and Position that Princess Excommunicated . . . may be deposed or murdered . . . And I do declare that no Foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State or Potentate hath or ought to have any Power, Jurisdiction, Superiority, Preeminence or authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual within the Realm of Great Britain or Dominions thereunto belonging.

As Abraham stood in line waiting for his turn to sign the oath, he must have marveled at the activity and bustle of the city streets. Here was a port vastly unlike Rotterdam, Cowes, Hamburg or Altona. Those cities were well-established mercantile centers centuries before the door of the New World was opened. Philadelphia was originally a planned city, but it had long since gotten out of hand. The majority of the dwellings were built of bricks and the many shops bordering the square had no distinguishing features, save a small hanging sign or a painted window. These restrained, yet fashionable three-story houses gave the town an aura of composure which belied the drive

and energy of the inhabitants. Carriages and carts drove through the streets so furiously that the council felt compelled to erect chain barriers at strategic locations. Negroes, mulattoes, Indian servants and beggars from the Indies thronged about the courthouse, providing a strange contrast to the landed Quaker gentry who moved serenely through the streets in chaises and elaborate carriages. This was a community without surpluses—there were not enough sailors, artisans, manufacturers, clergymen, school teachers, weavers or doctors. The back country could not produce enough lumber, grain, wool, beef, brandy, or tobacco. Pennsylvania was indeed the land of opportunity and Philadelphia beckoned to the rest of the world.

Unfortunately, the exact movements of the Wagner family in the first decade after their arrival are not definitely known. Anna Wagner's sister, Rosina, the wife of Abraham Beyer, a man of some substance, lived in Worcester Township, twenty odd miles out of the city. Abraham's old preceptor, Dr. Melchior Heebner was still living in Falkner Swamp, ten or twelve miles further north on land owned by his son George. There is enough evidence to suggest that the family broke up, Abraham going to live with Dr. Heebner and the rest of the family moving in with the Beyers.

The benefits of such an arrangement certainly outweighed the inconvenience for Abraham. Dr. Heebner could provide him with the necessary guidance and instruction for establishing medical practice in the Colony. He could continue his studies, become familiar with the indigenous herbs and drugs, assist the aged physician with his more troublesome patients and thus become once again a useful member of society. Dr. Heebner's son, Abraham's old boyhood friend, George, operated a grist mill along the banks of the Swamp Creek in partnership with Henry Antes, a prominent justice of the peace and man of affairs in the German community of Pennsylvania.

It would be difficult to describe how Abraham must have felt upon rejoining his Silesian friends after eleven years and in a strange country. Barely two hundred of them had managed to push their

fortunes on through to a successful end. Now they were spread out in isolated clusters over a radius of thirty miles, deeply preoccupied with the demands of pioneer life. They had no tradition of organization to hold them together in the face of a bewildering array of divisive forces.

But in the beginning there was really no need for organization. There was the unique spirit of their religious heritage, tempered by oppression into an enduring influence. The common factors of geographic origin, family relationship, experiences attendant to the journey and life in the wilderness, all these contributed to a sense of being set apart. Thus, Abraham's earliest associates were almost exclusively members of the Schwenkfelder group.

And Abraham had just arrived in time. Late in fall of the first year, Dr. Heebner became sick, but he lingered on for thirty weeks until the end came on July 12, 1738. His death marked the beginning of another era for Abraham, who not only came into possession of Dr. Heebner's medical books and supplies, but also a large portion of his wide practice among English and German people alike. Before the memory of this kindly and distinguished counselor had been faded by time, Abraham, a faithful understudy, prepared a memorial in the form of a brief biography: *Leben und Sterben des seeligen Melchior Heebners*.

This sixteen page manuscript set forth the qualities which had endeared Dr. Heebner to Abraham, but it also reflected some of the author's chief interests. For example, Abraham the scholar could not resist mentioning at least a dozen books which Dr. Heebner had deeply cherished. Several of the books he had been forced to leave behind in Görlitz and one of them was stolen on board ship. Abraham the poet took note of the fact that Heebner had also written verse. Abraham the physician referred to the heavy demand for Dr. Heebner's services. And Abraham the pietist, described at length his predecessors profound and sincere devotion to God. Abraham quoted an "old Christian friend here in the country who had only seen

(Dr. Heebner) once", as remarking to him: "One could tell by looking in this old father's face that he had the love of God in his heart—he had such an easy manner about himself".

Heebner's death removed much of the pointedness of continued residence in Falkner Swamp for Abraham. He certainly felt that his presence was an unnecessary burden for the aged physician's widow and beyond that, he must have felt compelled to provide more adequate living arrangements for his own mother and family. An opportunity to alleviate these circumstances arose in December, 1738 when Anna Wagner's brother-in-law, Abraham Beyer, purchased a large tract of land adjoining his own estate in Worcester Township. The following spring, the Wagner family moved onto this 110 acre plantation, an arrangement which was continued for nine years. The larger part of the farm lay in the adjoining township and Abraham Wagner of Falkner Swamp, became "Abraham Wagner, Medicus Practicus of Narriton in the county of Philadelphia".

Life for the Wagners again resumed an even tenor as they settled down to the process of adapting themselves to their new environment. There were forests of chestnut and oak to be cleared, fences to repair, stables to be erected, and fruit trees to be planted and grafted. There were innumerable trips to grist mills and saw mills, fish could be purchased at the Schuylkill River five miles to the west and marketing excursions to Philadelphia were a necessity in the spring and fall. Abraham certainly frequented apothecary shops and printing houses in the city. In 1742, Christopher Saur of Germantown printed a lengthy poem which Abraham had composed earlier in the year. This broadside was distributed widely and Abraham was quite proud of the accomplishment, often referring to it in later years.

Meanwhile, sister Susanna had come of age. On May 12, 1741, she married George Yeakel, a boyhood friend from Upper Harpersdorf who now lived in Lower Salford Township, six or seven miles removed from the Wagner home. In February of the following year, Susanna and George proudly presented a daughter to the larger

family circle, but the joy was all too brief—the entire family, father, mother and daughter died in little more than a year. There are no indications as to the nature of the contagion. Twenty-five year old Susanna expired on June 16, 1742, and her husband died six weeks later on July 24, his age also twenty-five.

In the evening of June 17, after Abraham returned home from his sister's burial, he poured his grief and anguish into a short poem, a hymn of supplication for continued strength and perseverance. The verses reveal no trace of a Job-like bitterness and bewilderment, nor do they commiserate the tragedy at any length. For Abraham, this was a time to reaffirm and renew his deep faith in a divine being. "Awaken me, O Jesus, when I slumber", "admonish my heart when it is negligent", "See that I do not relent until Thou, my God, hast blessed me and freed me of all my burdens!"

The verses were adapted for use in conjunction with the melody:
Der Tag ist hin, mein Jesu.

Erleuchte doch, O Gott, mein Armes hertze,
Dass ich ja nicht das ewig heil verschertze!
Las mich allzeit in Deiner Furchte stehn,
So lang ich leb las mich nicht irre gehn!

Erneu'r mich gantz durch Deinen Geist von oben,
Dass ich dich kan hie und dort ewig loben!
Nim weg was alt, was unrein und verderbt,
und was mir noch von Adam angeerbt!

O höchstes Guth! Las mich von dir nicht wancken;
Erhalte mich allzeit in Deinen Schranken!
Dein guter Geist führ mich auf rechter Bahn
Bis an mein End, dass ich nicht weichen kan!

Erwecke mich, O Jesu! Wenn ich schlummer:
Gieb dass ich stets hab um die Seele Kummer!

Ermahn das Hertz wenn es nachlässig ist!
Erinnre es so bald es Dein vergisst!

O Jesu! Hilff durch alle Schwierigkeiten:
Steh mir stets bey, las meinen Fuss nicht gleiten,
In Süß und Saur, in wohl und Uibelgehn,
Dass ich einst kan mit Freuden vor Dir stehn!

O Jesu! Gieb dass ich ja nicht ablasse,
Biss dass ich Dich, mein Hort! Selig umfasse;
Biss dass Du mich, mein GOTT! Gesegnet hast,
und mich befreyt von aller meiner Last!

Du hast mich ja aus Lieb so theur erworben,
da Du für mich bist an dem Creutz gestorben:
Drum las mich auch nur leben Dir allein;
Dir will ich gantz zum Dienst ergeben seyn!

Ach hilff! Das ich Dich hertzlich wieder Liebe,
und mich allzeit in Deinem Dienste übe:
dass ich Dir auch in aller Noth vertrau,
und ja mein Heil auf Dich allein nur bau!

Nun gieb, O HERR! Zum wollen das Vollbringen,
und las es mir durch Deine Krafft gelingen:
Dass ich Dir stets anhangе in der Zeit,
biss ich Dich schau dort in der Herrlichkeit!

Amen

Soon after Susanna's husband contracted his fatal illness, their infant daughter Rosina, was taken in by Abraham and his mother. The baby's presence in the Wagner household must have removed some of the sting of Susanna's untimely death, but it soon became apparent to Abraham's practiced eye that the child was not well.

On March 10, 1743, Susanna Wagner and George Yeakel were joined by their thirteen months old daughter. It must have been a profoundly frustrating experience for Abraham, a physician, to watch the child as it failed to respond to his treatments. That he was deeply moved is again evidenced by the appearance of another poem which he wrote as a memorial to his niece, Rosina Yeakel: *Bedencken über eines gewissen Kindes absterben*, March 10, 1743 (Thoughts on the death of a certain young child).¹

The verses are tender and compassionate: "You were a delicate shoot, that barely sprouted forth, a little rosebud; God desired to transplant you and delight you through eternity in company with his angels". In rationalizing some of the heart-rending aspects of the premature death, Abraham resorted to traditional thoughts: the child at least has been spared all earthly grief and trouble, been snatched away from Satan's grasp by God's benevolence and will be reunited in paradise with all the loved ones.

Melody: Gottlob die Stund ist kommen

1. Weil deine Stund ist kommen
Dass du bist weggenommen,
Du liebes Kindelein;
So ist man Zwar betrübet
Weil man dich sehr geliebet,
Doch wollen wir auch zufrieden seyn.
2. Wie wohl ist dir geschehen
Wir hoffen dich zusehen,
In grosser Wonn und freud;
Wenn wir dich wiederschauen
Weil wir solches zutrauen,
Gottes gnad und Barmhertzigkeit.

¹ This poem has been erroneously attributed to David Shultze, Schwenkfelder migrant to Pennsylvania in 1733 and resident of Upper Hanover Township.

3. D'rum wollen wir nicht klagen,
Sondern vielmehr dancksagen,
Dem Herren für solche Gnad;
Der dich nach seinem Willen,
Des Welt und Satans brüllen,
So frühzeitig entzogen hat.
4. Der Welt bist du entgangen,
Sie kan dich nun nicht fangen,
Mit ihrer Eitelkeit;
Der feind kan dich nicht fällen,
Noch dir sein Netze stellen,
Dort bist du nun in Sicherheit.
5. Du warst uns lieb im Leben,
Als dich Gott uns gegeben,
Man thät sich deiner freuen;
Nun aber du beglücket,
Und dieser Welt entrücket,
So soll dein Abscheid uns nicht reun.
6. Dein Jesus hat den Kindern,
Und allen armen sündern,
Erworben ewigs Heil;
Da er für uns sein Leben;
In bitterm Tod gegeben,
Daran wirst du auch haben Theil.
7. Sein blutt für dich vergossen,
Das wirst du han genossen,
Zu einem seligen End;
Gott wird dein arme Seele,
Aus ihrer Jammer Höhle,
Gefast han in sein Gnaden Hand.

8. So hast du überwunden,
Und ewigs Leben funden,
Durch Christi blutt und Tod;
Und bist recht aufgehoben,
In freud und Wonn dort oben,
Befreyt von aller angst und noth.
9. Du warst ein zarter sprossen,
Der kaum hervor geschossen,
Ein Kleines Roeselein;
Gott hat dich woll'n fortsetzen,
Und ewiglich ergötzen,
Bey ihm und seinen Engelein.
10. Dort wirst du in der Freude,
In einem Weissen kleide,
Mit Englischem Gethön;
Gott und dem Lamm lobsingen,
Und freuden opffer bringen,
Mit allen Heilgen wunderschön.
11. Wenn Christus thut entbinden,
Von angebohrnen Sünden,
Ein kleines kindelein;
Reist es aus dem Verderben,
Und läst es selig sterben,
Was mag das für ein Glücke seyn.
12. O Jesu voller Gnaden,
Heile all unsern Schaden,
Durch dein vergossnes blutt;
Und las uns mit den frommen,
Dort bald zusammen kommen,
In der ewigen freud und Hut.

Amen.

In December, Abraham, along with Caspar Kriebel, the co-executors of George Yeakel's estate, rode to Philadelphia and presented a final accounting to the court. Under the terms of the will, the plantation was to be sold and the money divided between Anna Wagner and George's mother, Regina. The executors account was accepted and the matter was closed on December 23, 1743.

The last basic adjustment which Abraham had to make was brought about by the death of his mother in March, 1749. There is enough evidence to suggest that the brothers had remained single out of deference to their mother, since they both married within a month of her demise, Abraham to Maria Kriebel and Melchior to Gertrude Steyer. Occupancy of the Beyer farm was relinquished shortly thereafter and the brothers moved onto newly purchased adjoining plantations in Worcester Township, less than a quarter-mile from their old home.

In the years that followed, the promise of the New World was fulfilled for Abraham Wagner. Unlike his father, Abraham Wagner could vote on his own taxes, assist in the selection of his own constables, move freely from village to village or state to state and acquire property in just proportion to his own industry. But above all, he was free to worship his own Divinity in his own inimicable fashion. The great American tradition was launched by men like Abraham Wagner, men who were self-educated and self-made, men with a rugged spirit of individualism that came from clinging to cherished beliefs in the face of dreadful odds.

In the backwoods of Abraham Wagner's Pennsylvania there were no "men of the cloth" to instruct, harangue and implore—or persecute. Those who inevitably appeared on the scene were met as equals and if they failed to regard the fundamental aspects of equality they were forced to retreat to bide a more favorable time. The cloth of respect was homespun and it wore best behind a plow or on a wagon. Woe betide the newcomer who failed to recognize that a new order of things was developing.

It was the age of enlightenment and reason, a time for testing old truths—and the testing ground was in a man's own soul. Where lesser men were content to accept without qualification this pattern or that, the logic of one spiritual reformer or another, Abraham Wagner felt compelled to work out his own course to salvation. This quest kept him seated for long hours poring diligently through every pertinent book he could possibly procure and it sent him out to converse and debate with men of all faiths. In the course of time this boy from the fields of Harpersdorf kept company with Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the patriarch of the Lutherans; Ludwig Zinzendorf, the Moravian shepherd, and George deBenneville, the founder of American Universalism.

It was also the age of natural science, a time for exploring the physical world and routing myth and superstition. The same scientific spirit that sent Benjamin Franklin out in the rain to fly a kite, kept Abraham Wagner in his apothecary shop, surrounded by "medicines & drugs of various kinds . . . a small still with its appendages & all the Bottles, Drawers & other Shop Furniture together with a number of Ould medicinal Books & Manuscripts, some in English but chiefly in the Garmans Languages". In the course of time, the great-grandson of chemist George Hauptmann from Lauterseifen could note in his specimen book that this or that powder, elixir or spirit had been used "with some success".

And it was also an age for the arts, a time to record impressions of the spirit and express currents of emotion. It was not art for art's sake alone. Abraham Wagner's predilection for poetry was the natural result of his pious heritage, a heritage which swept along the great wealth of German hymnity from the days of Thomas Aquinas on through the next five centuries. The prayerful poem, set forth by men of keen perception, became the property of the masses. The scripture, the learned treatise and the sermon belonged to the pulpit; the hymn burst forth from the pews and galleries. In the course of time, at least forty poems composed by Abraham Wagner ap-

peared in print and many more were preserved in manuscript volumes and on loose sheets of paper.

These then, were the areas in which Abraham Wagner made a contribution to the world of his time—as pietist, physician and poet.

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PIETIST

DURING THE FIRST half of the eighteenth century, the southeastern section of Pennsylvania was an ecclesiastical hodgepodge. Elements from a score of sects, brotherhoods and denominations from all points of the European continent were funneled through the port of Philadelphia from whence they streamed out into the surrounding countryside. They came in large contingents of three or four hundred persons, in bands of individual families or singly, but all with the common purpose of seeking respite from persecutions in the Old World and the opportunity to put into practice their own peculiar religious doctrines in the New. Held apart and congealed into separate, isolated clumps by boundary lines, customs and ecclesiastical fiat in Europe, in Penn's woods they were mingled and dispersed, free to test the validity of their own convictions with those of their neighbors.

A partial listing of the various denominations represented on the scene hardly does justice to the bewildering complexity of the religious structure in Colonial Pennsylvania. In the course of a single trip to the Philadelphia market, it was quite possible for a backwoods farmer to encounter Lutherans, Catholics, Moravians, Separatists, Dunkards, Quakers, Schwenkfelders, Mennonites, Amish, Re-

formed, Presbyterian or Jews. If he took special pains he could uncover a few Theosophists, a Labadist or two, a brother from the Cloister at Ephrata, or one of the brethren from Matthias Bauman's New Born Sect. If he traveled from the hinterlands down through the Oley Valley he could pause and visit the chapel erected in the house of George deBenneville, apostle of Universalism and the restoration of all creatures. If he rode through the Wissahickon ravine he could peer into the cave inhabited by Magister Johann Kelpius, a brilliant scholar who came to the New World to await the second coming of Christ. The Magister's followers erected a high tower from which they kept constant watch for the first indication of the long awaited event. And if he wandered into the bookshop and printery operated by Andrew Bradford he could purchase a copy of Conrad Beissel's treatise on the Sabbath, the book which set forth the position of the Seventh Day Adventists. And there were many other prominent, influential figures moving across the scene that defied inclusion in any standard index of doctrine or dogma.

This heterogeneous blend of religious enthusiasts gave Pennsylvania an unprecedented character and quality, vastly unlike anything to be found in the other colonies. It spawned a unique spiritual vitality and zest that lost little of its strength in the next century and a half. Indeed, most of the groups that found a foothold in the Pennsylvania hills during the forepart of the eighteenth century are extant today, the chief difference between then and now being one of degree and not kind.

Theology virtually floated on the surface of the immigrants mind. It was his chief preoccupation beyond the concern of maintaining an adequate standard of living. The disinterested, the apathetic and those who compromised easily simply did not have the impetus which moved their more resolute and relentless kinsmen from one continent to another. Consequently, southeastern Pennsylvania was largely populated by men of deep conviction and unusual courage. This spiritual vitality of the German settlers was evidenced in many ways,

but it became especially manifest in literary activity. In 1753, Benjamin Franklin wrote: "They import many books from Germany, and, of the six printing houses in the province, two are entirely German, two half German, half English, and but two are entirely English". One of these presses operated by the Saur family in Germantown produced nearly 150 religious volumes alone prior to the Revolution and the English print shops, including Ben Franklin's, also catered to the German trade for reasons which were more financial than literary.

The same independent spirit which drove the pietists, sectarians and separatists to produce their own religious literature, also kept them aloof from most of the standard commentaries and treatises that had an Old World flavor. One frustrated missionary who vainly attempted to press the sectarians into a spiritual mold of his own contrivance made this observation in 1742, a half-truth at best: "Scriptural writings have no entrance at all in Pennsylvania, either for good or evil. The country is just not made for writings or for books. Many of the people have the opinion that they themselves can write a book. Most of them are so fed up with reading books, that they don't even want to look at one, let alone study it . . ." ¹ Actually, the Pennsylvania pietists had merely become selective in their readings, a reflection of the fact that their basic decisions were made long before the arm of established church powers spanned the ocean in an attempt to resurrect the old creedal barriers. If there was any diminution in intellectual activity in the broad field of religious letters, it was easily offset by the enthusiasm and devotion applied within the narrower confines of selected avenues of thought.

This academic interest in religious doctrine was the predominant note of Pennsylvania-German culture during Abraham Wagner's life. His own interests were whetted and sharpened by the new spirit of respect and tolerance for divergent beliefs. As his personal philos-

¹ Count Ludwig von Zinzendorf, *Budingische Sammlung* (Leipzig, 1744), Vol. III, p. 249.

ophy developed, he found that it fell outside the pale of all the current religious systems. In a letter to Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, he set forth his opinion that genuine Christianity should rise above labels and designations.

The Good Father . . . gave me an impartial Christian love for all of his children. . . . They may call or designate their beliefs by any name they wish, but I am not repelled or biased because they adhere to this religious sect or that, or because they may happen to worship a different Christ. I am primarily concerned about the soul and its relationship to true Christianity, whether or not they have a living faith . . . and whether the fire of God burns in their hearts and if the spirit of Christ Jesus moves them . . . With respect to opinions, interpretation and judgments, I desire neither to quarrel or dispute. . . . It has clearly been demonstrated that the very small amount of goodness which is found in many people has too often been covered and submerged by bias and partiality, or else they labor and dwell on gross presumptions, fancies and other improprieties to such an extent that one is forced to observe them with sympathy and pity.

Calling to mind some of the distasteful and bitter experiences he was forced to put up with because of his relationship with the Schwenkfelder movement, he proceeded to outline a firm resolution.

It would not be strange if you felt a certain aversion for me, inasmuch as I bear or must represent the name of an infamous heretic. But I can't help for this. What I can do is not call myself by any name (as St. Paul charged in first Corinthians, 3:4) or base my beliefs and confessions on human writings, but take only the word of God into consideration. Nothing else will stand proof other than what has

been slowly disclosed to one's heart through the grace of God, in accordance with testimony in the Holy Scriptures.

This attitude was common to many of the more liberal thinkers of the Pennsylvania scene and was aptly labeled "the Pennsylvania Religion" by Johann Adam Gruber, resident of Germantown and one of Abraham's close friends. Gruber's concise definition served as a challenge to those who attempted to impose a particular theological system: "In Pennsylvania we have many religious opinions, but only one Religion, the Pennsylvania Religion of 'go a little, give a little, live and let live' ". Gruber wrote many treatises and tracts under the pseudonym *Ein Geringer*, "an humble person", urging the sectarians and the church assemblies to give up those ecclesiastical differences which threatened to disrupt the tolerant, ecumenical spirit of the Colony. Abraham Wagner was at once attracted to these "separatists" and he stubbornly resisted any attempts on the part of missionaries or clerics to organize the various groups into "creed-bound denominations". Taking a cue from Gruber, he wrote several articles under the fictitious name of *Andreas Wächter*, "Andrew the Watcher", the first initials symbolizing the correct name of the author.

Wagner's spiritual attitude was largely conditioned by three areas of influence. The foundations of his thought and interpretation were built upon the writings of Caspar Schwenkfeld, the commentaries of subsequent adherents to this movement and the indoctrination he received as a youth. A wide reading of theological books written by liberals, radical pietists and mystics gave him the information prerequisite to balanced reason and the forming of intelligent judgments. Finally, consideration must be given to the impact made upon his philosophy and thought by personal association with other men of deep devotion and conviction.

It is almost impossible to properly assess how much of Schwenk-

feld's conception permeated Wagner's personal philosophy. There can be no doubt that the broad frame of reference was supplied by this reformer whom Martin Luther, in his more churlish moods frequently called "Stenkfeld". For Schwenkfeld, the important business of religious life was the development of personal experience, an inward revelation of God, a type of religion that would involve a basic transformation of personal life and discourage Christians from "taking the cross at its softest spot". Even Luther was perplexed at the absence of intense, personal religion in the wake of the Reformation and he once remarked to Schwenkfeld: "Dear Caspar, genuine Christians are none too common. I wish I could see two together in one place!"

In addition to this concept of inward orientation to Christ, the kernel of Schwenkfeld's thought, Wagner also received his belief that the church should not take the form of a sectarian denomination, that the true church should not be identified with a temporal, external organization. The true church, reading from Schwenkfeld, "is the congregation or assembly of all or many who with heart and soul are believers in Christ . . . and who are born of God's word alone. . . ." And as Schwenkfeld discouraged any attempts on behalf of his compatriots to establish formal church conferences, so Wagner deplored the efforts of his contemporaries to set up geographical synods. "The mind and conscience must be free and unfettered by human creeds and human authority. The spirit must have free course to follow the light of truth as it advances". Wagner was never forgetful of the wisdom in these words by Schwenkfeld as he moved forward on his own way to a more intimate and personal knowledge of the author of all things.

What of formal symbolism and the sacraments? Schwenkfeld was often classed with the Anabaptists because of his denial of the Lutheran, Zwinglian and Catholic conceptions, insisting that the bread and wine were simply spiritual food and drink, devoid of magical potential; that it was quite insignificant how or when water

was applied, inasmuch as the believing soul was sprinkled inwardly, a "baptism of spirit and power received through God's grace, the external act merely calling attention to the inward event". Yet, far from being opposed to the indulgence of these traditional Christian rites, Schwenkfeld simply wished to center the emphasis upon the proper virtues of the external acts and prevent easy compliance from becoming an acceptable substitute for honest faith. Wagner accepted this position without any serious qualification.

A word or two must be said about Wagner's familiarity with the writings of some of Schwenkfeld's colleagues. One of Abraham's prized possessions was a large manuscript volume containing a collection of sermons prepared by Michael Hiller, pastor of the Lutheran Church in Zobten, Silesia, during the first half of the sixteenth century. Hiller, whose views were consistent with Schwenkfeld's, suffered several trials at the instigation of the Lutheran ministerium, but was eventually granted freedom to continue preaching until his death in 1557.

His sermons were far from pedantic, their popularity springing from a frequent use of graphic illustration in support of Scriptural doctrine. In enlarging on the theme "to set the mind on the flesh is death, but to set the mind on the Spirit is life and peace", Hiller employed incidents from the life of Cleopatra and Mark Anthony. In discussing the sinfulness of war as a social evil, he relied heavily upon chapters of Grecian and Persian history. This departure from the everlasting habit of limiting recitations to figures and incidents from Scriptural sources was in a large measure responsible for the wide circulation enjoyed by his writings.

Erasmus Weichenhan was another ex-Lutheran minister in Lower Silesia who knew Schwenkfeld and echoed his beliefs until his death in 1594. Wagner's fondness for Weichenhan's writings was indicated in a codicil to his will whereby he directed that his volume of Weichenhan's sermons be placed in the custody of several relatives for joint ownership. For Wagner, Weichenhan's chief merit lay in

“an excellent & correct conception of the institution of the Lord’s Supper. . . .”

Also in the field of Schwenkfelder literature Wagner read widely in Adam Reisner, studied diligently the sacred poetry of Daniel Suderman and was more than a little impressed at the first-rate contributions made by Martin John, Jr. and his own great-grandfather, George Hauptmann. Of these last two scholars, Wagner once observed:

Many of the most prominent pietists in Berlin, Leipzig and Halle carried on a profuse correspondence with these two learned, beloved and impartial men of ours in Silesia, both of them celebrated physicians. Much of the correspondence from both sides is still extant in Germany today and I was once told that D. Richter of Halle even went down and visited them personally.² These two men (of which the latter was my great-grandfather on my mother’s side and who died in his eighty-eighth year in 1722) are both found in Gottfried Arnold’s *Church and Heretic History*.³

How pleasant it is to rejoice, in view of the present corrupt conditions of Christianity, when one hears of or becomes acquainted with such people in whom God’s work found a place, because it serves to glorify God and

² Christian Friedrich Richter (1676-1711), brilliant young physician on the medical faculty at the University of Halle. He did pioneer work in the development of *essentia dulcis*, a gold tincture held in high regard for its healing properties. Richter probably conferred with “chemists” Hauptmann and John on the refinement of this compound since Hauptmann had established a broad reputation for his work in metallurgy. John remarked in a letter to a friend that he was in bed when Richter came to “give me the letter and the money”. Richter was a devout pietist, authored several religious monographs and his untimely death in 1711 was widely lamented.

³ A monumental, definitive three volume study which set forth a candid, and sometimes erroneous, resume of the Schwenkfelder “heresy”. This history became so popular around the turn of the century that the mere listing of a name therein was looked upon as assurance of some degree of immortality in the history of the Christian movement.

strengthens and invigorates us in our own battle of the faith! Really, we should thank the Lord for the converted and enlightened teachers and ministers that fulfill their offices faithfully and earnestly, especially those who point the way on the basis of their own inner perception and experience, and rely not only on the accumulated wisdom of mankind”.

Abraham's own interest in the “accumulated wisdom of mankind” compelled him to search for the ultimate truth among the books and writings of many other esteemed, and sometimes not so venerable, mystics. He read Christian Hohburg, Johann Arndt, Heinrich Muller, Sriver, Grossgebauer, Freylinghausen, Petersen, Walchius and Rambach. He collected the poems of Johann Kelpius, and at the time of his death he was preparing a biography of Philip Jacob Spener, the man who introduced mystical Pietism into the Lutheran Church as a practical system of worship two generations before Wagner was born. It would not be a distortion of the truth to suggest that in many respects Spener did little more than put into practice the ideals set forth by Schwenkfeld more than a century earlier, and that this was the attraction which held Wagner's interest. Spener never carried his thoughts on through to the same lofty level attained by Schwenkfeld, nor was his influence as pronounced, but the similarities were too many to be denied.

Germany was spoiling for a new revolt from orthodoxy when Spener organized his “College of Pietists” at Frankfurt in 1670. A deep spiritual unrest generated many schools of thought along the fringe of accepted church organizations, but none of them were quite as appealing as Spener's “path to personal and practical piety”. At the core of his philosophy was the belief “that Christianity was first of all life, and that the strongest proof of the truth of its doctrine was to be found in the religious experience of the believing”. Hence, Spener was interested in a religion of the heart and not of the head,

a devoutness based on personal experience of God and not on intellectual supposition and interpretation. Was such an intimate experience likely to be found in formalized liturgy and worship? Spener thought not and thus, the *Collegium Pietatis*, a series of informal, house-held discussion groups took the place of church-going.

The movement became immensely popular and theological eyes all over the continent observed its growth with solicitude and some anxiety. Unfortunately, presence at the "college" led to absence from the church and the ecclesiastical authorities, taking a dim view of this aspect, eventually forced the sessions to discontinue. But a good, old idea had found a new spokesman and Spener's thought, that the proper business of the church was the development of personal piety and spiritual regeneration continued to be an effective force in theological circles for many decades.

After Spener's death, the Pietist's mantle of leadership was transferred to the shoulders of August Herman Francke, professor of theology at the University of Halle. The institution and the professor had much in common—both were young, vigorous and liberal—a combination that was destined to overcome the inertia of philosophical speculation and move theory on its way into practice. In the field of theology this meant training ministers whose theoretical knowledge of Christianity was accompanied by the practice of Christian living; it meant the establishment of charitable institutions and Halle became famous for its orphanage; and it meant a redoubling of efforts to spread the "new" gospel, and Halle founded the first missionary department in the history of the Lutheran Church. Wagner's friend, Reverend Henry Melchior Muhlenberg was dispatched from this department at Halle to America where he successfully established a Lutheran stronghold, naming the first church in this country, the "Augustus Church", in honor of his preceptor.

But of more importance, and subsequent influence upon Wagner, was the establishment of the medical school at the Halle University.

The new drive toward a more practical Christianity quite naturally found a pertinent challenge in the aches and illnesses of mankind. A body wracked by fever and pain was surely as much in need of ministration and sympathy as a tormented, misguided soul. In a few brief years, Halle was not only the center of interest in theological matters, but also the wellspring of a new systematic medical theory that fairly revolutionized the profession. It was impossible to come under the influence of the Halle medical school and not be moved by the liberal attitude toward theology and vice versa. This double impact conditioned much of Wagner's thought and it also provided a partial answer to the spiritual liberality of many of his professional colleagues in Colonial America. Unfortunately, the formal Pietistical movement in Europe soon became embroiled in a series of ascetic excesses, was widely denounced and reduced to a smattering of angry mutterings around the middle of the century.

These were the chief men and movements that lay in the background of Wagner's personal piety. It was a traditional heritage in the sense that it embraced advances of theological knowledge and procedure set forth over many centuries, but as the years of his life moved on, his personal position shifted away from the traditional attitudes of organized Christianity. It cut across the lines of denominationalism, abandoned church politics and sought a new mysticism. This mysticism was based on the fundamental sources of Christianity, but it was set free of the limitations imposed by static patterns and obsolete forms.

When Wagner entered Pennsylvania's spiritual arena in 1737, the referee was Johann Adam Gruber, but within a few short years, Gruber's position had been pre-empted by Christopher Saur, a Dunkard printer residing on Gruber's property in Germantown. Saur attained this eminent position largely because he controlled a large part of the printing done for the German sectarians. In addition to religious tracts and volumes, he published an almanac, a newspaper

and a Bible, the latter in a translation that he personally reconciled to harmonize with his own private compunctions. This arrangement placed great power in Saur's hands, but where a lesser man might have succumbed to partisan pressures, Saur edited vigorously and argued vehemently whenever his principles and editorial ethics were challenged. In preparing a hymnal for the Ephrata brotherhood in 1739, he noted that "one foolish hymn followed another" and that "a thousand pounds would not persuade me to print such a (hymn) for the reason that it leads the way to idolatry"—nevertheless, he printed it. Freedom of the press was apparently not unknown before the bill of rights came into being.

His newspaper served as the listening post and recorder for all new developments in the arena. It had an appropriate title: *The High German Pennsylvania Recorder of Events, or Collection of Important News from the Realm of Nature and the Church*. It was by far the most popular German news medium in the colony and for many settlers it provided the only contact with events beyond the next range of hills.

It would be difficult to ascertain under what circumstances Saur and Wagner became acquainted, but there is enough evidence to suggest that the first contact may have been professional. In 1739, Saur referred to himself as a "Doctor of Chirurgy and bloodletting". Indeed, one room of his house was equipped as an apothecary shop. It was an important source of supply for rhebarbara, camphor, opium, imported gums, resins and all the other powders and liquids required by an up-country physician for rendering prescriptions and compounds. Saur received many of his drugs directly from the University of Halle and corresponded frequently with the younger Francke. Formula-swapping undoubtedly led to theological discourse and a certain harmony of belief established a long friendship. Saur's unique position and his wide acquaintance with all of the major personalities on the scene made this contact an invaluable one for Wagner.

Spiritual affairs among the Schwenkfelder group at this time were largely in the hands of George Weiss, a stern, untiring "father" who rode many miles visiting the widely scattered families and spent long hours in writing admonitory and instructive letters to persons beyond the perimeter of his frequent visitations. Fearing that the small group might well lose its identity without some measure of organization and orthodoxy, Weiss pressed for the establishment of a congregation and the adoption of a confession of faith. To this end he was partially successful, but he lost the unqualified support of some of the more liberal factions. Abraham Wagner was accordant with this small minority that deemed the risk of emerging as a formal sect too great, ostensibly on the basis that it would accomplish little more than to pave the way for antagonism and renewed persecutions.

As a consequence, Wagner explored several other possibilities, the first being proposed by the "Associated Brethren of Skippack", a loose, free-wheeling assembly of liberal pietists seeking a free fellowship of worship on a level above denominationalism. The Association met at the home of Christopher Wiegner, Schwenkfelder exile who began a flirtation with the Moravian Church while still in Saxony. Wiegner's home in Worcester Township became a rallying point for all separatists, but it was inevitable that some form of organization should evolve. A central committee was selected and charged with the responsibility of outlining a program to impart religious instruction to all settlers, regardless of creed or sectarian affiliation. In 1738 weekly religious services were instituted at Wiegner's house. Henry Antes, George Heebner's milling partner was prominent in the activities of the organization and so was Johann Adam Gruber. Of Wagner's interest, nothing more is known beyond the fact that he attended the monthly council meetings.

The high point in the life of the Association came in May, 1740 when the famous English Methodist, George Whitefield accepted an invitation to speak at Wiegner's home. A crowd of people, variously estimated at three to five thousand people, undaunted by the

fact that the address would be given in a foreign tongue, converged at the site early in the afternoon. Whitefield was a spellbinder whose cross-eyes gained him the nickname, "Dr. Squint", an appellation that was certainly lost on his predominantly German audience. His stentorian and dramatic voice was so powerful that a gentleman once remarked that Whitefield could pronounce "Mesopotamia" in a way that would reduce his audience to tears. There are no records indicating the number of converts produced that day, but Whitefield was apparently quite impressed and he confided to his diary that "they seemed to have drank deeply into the consolation of the Holy Spirit. We spent the evening in a most agreeable manner. I never saw more simplicity; surely that house was a Bethel".

Unfortunately, this democratic attempt to bring order out of chaos ultimately surrendered its initiative to the Moravian Church. Wiegner's flirtation with several Moravian missionaries became serious and when Count Zinzendorf appeared on the scene in 1742, the remaining influence of the Association was moved squarely behind the Count's attempt to establish a Pennsylvania Synod.

In 1741, Dr. George deBenneville arrived in Philadelphia and took up temporary residence with Saur. An educated physician and accomplished theologian, deBenneville became the "spiritual founder" of the Universalist Church in America. Wagner probably encountered deBenneville at Saur's house and was immediately attracted by the Doctor's liberal theological position, which he himself expressed as a "boundless Universal Love for the entire human race, without exception, and for each one in particular". Wagner and deBenneville corresponded for at least twenty years and Wagner's manuscript volume of medical prescriptions contains many formulas that were employed by deBenneville.

The liberal pietists soon found that deBenneville was a kindred spirit, unimpressed by ecclesiastical trappings and procedure, primarily interested in the man and not his affiliation. In the Oley Valley, the good doctor conducted a school and held devotions for

individual families in a chapel erected in his own house. His services, both medical and spiritual, were widely in demand and from time to time he was asked to preach among the Schwenkfelders. In the years that followed, deBenneville introduced Wagner to several prominent theologians on the Continent, providing him with another opportunity to exchange views on spiritual philosophy.

On December 19, 1741, Count Ludwig von Zinzendorf appeared at the house of Christopher Wiegner and Pennsylvania Christendom was never quite the same again. The impulsive and pretentious Count, fired with missionary zeal ("I am destined by the Lord to proclaim the message . . .") and burdened with a thousand and one plans for "saving" the good folk of Pennsylvania, was not unknown to most of the Colonists. Even so, advance notices of his arrival occasioned great interest and anxiety among the settlers and the Count lost no time in capitalizing on his reputation. Wiegner told him of the lofty goals set by the Associated Brethren and suggested a visit with Antes on the following day. Out of this conference came a program dedicated to the "unification of the German Sects throughout the Colonies". Using Antes as his shield, the Count directed that a circular letter be dispatched to the various group leaders inviting them to attend a conference in Germantown to consider "the essential articles of faith, not with the intention of quarreling and wrangling, but to treat each other in love, in order to ascertain how closely we can approach each other in fundamental points . . . so that all judging and fault-finding might cease. . . ."

Gruber was at once suspicious and Saur likewise viewed the proceedings with a jaundiced eye. The Schwenkfelders elected not to participate, having already endured more pressure than necessary to join the Moravian movement, both in Saxony and at the hands of an advance unit of missionaries working out of Wiegner's home. The initial conference was rather sparsely attended, but plans for six more sessions were adopted, the second to be held at George Heebner's home in Falkner Swamp. The minutes of this meeting were

faithfully recorded and subsequently published in a pamphlet by Benjamin Franklin. In answer to a question concerning the purpose of the conference, the following reply was set forth: "The true purpose of this assembly of all the evangelical denominations is, that henceforth a poor soul who is anxious to know where the Way of Life leads, will no longer be shown a dozen Ways, but only one Path, no matter who is asked. . . ." ⁴

Was this one "Way" to Salvation supposed to be a composite thoroughfare mapped out by the mutual assent of all participating groups? Unfortunately, developments soon indicated that the Count was to have the last word, and it became apparent to many spectators "that he had disguised the back door of the Moravian Church as the main entrance to a genuine ecumenical religious movement; and that his real purpose was to gather the Pennsylvania Germans around his episcopal throne, under his creedal roof". ⁵

To Wagner and many others, this was a page out of the old European book. Taking a stand alongside of Saur, Gruber, Schoenfeld and other opponents, Wagner refused to be drawn into any of the meetings. Saur's paper was filled with letters denouncing the program, one of the most bitter pronouncements appearing over the name of Johann Heinrich Schoenfeld, a former resident in the Count's European sanctuary. Schoenfeld described at length the Count's irrational demands for conformity and his obstinate refusals to recognize differences of opinion: "the Pietists and Separatists will get out of Herrnhuth or my name is not Count Zinzendorf". In January, Gruber sent an admonitory message to the second confer-

⁴ Characteristically enough, the editor, with more diligence than mercy, made an all-out effort to have the title convey an exact description of the contents in the publication: *Authentische Nachricht von der Verhandlung und dem Verlass der am 14 den und 15 den Januarii Anno 1741/2 im sogenannten Falckner-Schwamm an Georg Hübners House gehaltenen Zweyten Versammlung sowol einiger Teutschen Arbeiter der Evangelischen Religionen als Verschiedener einzelnen treuen Gezeugen und Gottsfürchtiger Nachbarn* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1732), p. 26.

⁵ Albert D. Bell, *The Life and Times of Dr. George deBenneville* (Boston, Mass., 1953), p. 32.

ence under the title "*A sincere voice of warning and watchfulness to the souls who have been summoned at this time*".⁶ Saur published a large broadside in March containing a twenty-six stanza poem written by Wagner, a parody on Thomas à Kempis' *A, B, C, in the School of Christ*. Although not directed at Zinzendorf, the poem set forth the "Christian Way to Salvation", pointing out that this state could not be attained by passion and force.

Zinzendorf, to describe his attitude with charity, was piqued at the unwillingness to cooperate. On March 27, he addressed a letter to Saur, Schoenfeld, Gruber and "Consorts", suggesting that it might be necessary for him to enlist the aid of a constable in getting these "Separatists" to sit down and bargain with him. His attitude toward the Schwenkfelders was no more considerate—"I finally, and for once and for all, set a time limit of three months for your false teachers, your unconverted elders and for your blind leaders . . . (to) make you capable of bearing the name of a church; I would then let you stand in the Lord, for you would then be a regular denomination".⁷ Balthaser Hoffman "and Sundry other Friends" replied in a letter completely devoid of rancor: "We thank you for the invitation . . . we shall not part with the knowledge and conviction we possess . . . consequently we cannot see any benefit by attending . . . it is our thought and wish to allow each one to take his stand and to act as it seems best to him and grant him the benefit of such a course".

Zinzendorf's hopes were shattered on this kind of calm, studied defiance and by the more audible objections filed by Schoenfeld, Gruber and Saur. His frustrated assistant, Bishop Spangenberg, came up with a new definition of the Pennsylvania Religion: "Many

⁶ The Count and his associates published an edited version of this tract in the minutes of the second conference. Gruber, not having been consulted for permission to print, nor having given his consent to the alterations and insertions, was quite naturally incensed at this effrontery. See Johann Philip Fresenius, *Bewährte Nachrichten von Herrnhutischen Sachen* (Frankfurt-am-Mayn, 1748), Vol. III, pp. 351, 352.

⁷ *Bewährte Nachrichten*, Vol. III, p. 241.



thousands of these people cared so little for religion that it became a common saying in reference to such, who cared neither for God nor His word, that they had the Pennsylvania religion".⁸ Spangenberg's ear was not close enough to the ground.

Seven synods were held during the course of the first six months, but each succeeding conference served only to point up the interdenominational tensions and minimize the cohesive forces favoring a democratic union. Zinzendorf assumed the title of "Syndicus" and out of the fifth synod, held at Germantown, came this decree: "Pennsylvania is a Babel. The first (thing) to be accomplished is to liberate its prisoners, which cannot be done according to common rules—apostolic powers are required". Christopher Saur must have choked when he read that one. Apostolic powers in Pennsylvania? Zinzendorf's fate was sealed. One by one the denominational representatives withdrew and by June, the surviving Moravians were completely in charge—with no one left to control!

In December, the Count called all of his well-wishers together and delivered a lengthy farewell address. Taking a long look at the past year, he saw nothing but "rotten wood". The future held more promise, "if several thousand Lutherans, a few thousand Reformeds, if several hundred Baptists, will become children of God; if a half dozen thousand Quakers . . . became converted, then we will hold another Synod".⁹ Was his failure due to a lack of knowledge? There was a little "scruple" in his conscience about the new Lutheran pastor (Muhlenberg) in Skippack who was from Halle and made much of it. To be sure, one could learn more at Halle in eight weeks than in a whole year in Pennsylvania, and "I am a child of Halle, I spent almost six years in pedagogy". No, his failure was due to the argumentative spirit of the sectarians and their misguided, "fanciful and perverse interpretation of Scriptures".

⁸ Quoted in, Julius Sachse, *The German Sectarists of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1899), Vol. II, p. 442.

⁹ *Büdingische Sammlung*, Vol. III, p. 215.

There were few tears shed among the separatists when the Count slipped away in a coach to avoid the pain of departure from his friends on the last day of 1742. It was a tragic departure in many ways. The cause was essentially a good one, but Zinzendorf failed to recognize, let alone comprehend the free and democratic spirit of the New World. In the final analysis, he was betrayed by his own cultural heritage, a heritage which had accustomed him to the heady satisfactions of enjoying his own way, of seeing people respond to his will. A Germantown separatist put it this way: "He went to school here in Pennsylvania; he found people here who were his match; nothing was taken for granted; he received a good pummeling . . . Pennsylvania is a free land . . . the people here are not impressed by a Count".¹⁰

In reality, the Count's ill-advised attempt succeeded only in promoting the very thing he had tried to avoid. The sectarians and churched groups suddenly became more mindful than ever of their own indigenous and peculiar tenets. A new intensity was applied toward the preservation of denominational individuality. Ecclesiastical authorities in Europe became alarmed at the near-miss and dispatched ordained ministers to the scene in large numbers. By 1750, less than a decade after this abortive attempt, the Coetus of the Reformed Church had established at least 65 congregations and the Lutheran Church was every bit as vigorous. The sectarians, lacking numerical strength to open new fields, concentrated on patching their old theological fences.

The spiritual leadership of the Schwenkfelder group, after George Weiss' death in 1740, devolved on Balthaser Hoffman, a self-educated author and scholar who prepared an advance outline of the sermon to be delivered at his own funeral. Hoffman was diligent and capable, but the task was enormous. A deep spiritual unrest followed in the wake of Zinzendorf's final attempt to subvert

¹⁰ *Bewährte Nachrichten*, Vol. III, 1748, p. 785 ff.

Schwenkfelder beliefs and it opened a new period of soul-searching and questioning. Were the old beliefs still valid after all? The conservative element felt that it was time to tighten doctrine and to impose a strict code of conduct in daily life. Others, among them Abraham Wagner, were equally as positive that little would be gained by shrinking the horizon. "After all", argued Wagner, "it would be unreasonable to assume that the only valid interpretation of the divine message would have been imparted to Schwenkfeld and his followers alone. There must be latitude for individual expression, and a climate of opinion conducive to the reception of new theological knowledge—the divine revelation was progressive, not limited to a definite period in history".

This controversy quite naturally led to the appropriateness of reading books authored by non-Schwenkfelder mystics. The conservative faction insisted that it was dangerous to read widely among other mystics; that such a course would tend to obscure accepted points of doctrine; that they were not in accord with Christian theology but belonged to the realm of pure philosophy and conjecture. Wagner disagreed—"the gracious God moderates His gifts in such manner that He does not give everything at one time, or pour them all into one man, or only into one place, but gradually, as is honorable to Him, beneficial, profitable and comprehensive to men, letting them come forth one after another".

One of Wagner's opponents in this debate was Christopher Schultz, an astute farmer living in Berks County. Schultz and Wagner exchanged opinions in a lengthy correspondence during the spring of 1743, an intercourse admirably devoid of ill-will or enmity considering the depth of conviction at stake. This discourse came in the wake of a Schwenkfelder conference which attempted to force through a decree barring controversial authors and their writings. Wagner took serious objection to this action in a letter dated March 28. He was keenly aware of the dangers implicit in any attempts to restrict academic freedom.

To mention some of the reasons why I cannot join in the statement in question, I will say the following: That knowledge, which I maintained that God revealed to His children as a mystery hidden in Holy Scripture, was misconstrued, yea, attributed utterly to Satan and his deceitfulness. This I heard with my own ears and it was not easy for me to accept. This to me was an important reason, but that was not all. Certain writings which I also cherish and whose authors I regard as children and servants of God, were made questionable and disdainful by the assertion that they were philosophical, offensive and contrary to Christian theology (of which also there is oral and written testimony). This is too severe in my opinion, and I have often lamented it, even though, I admit, I myself cannot vouch for everything contained therein. But I rejoice over the good gifts which I find in other writers, and thank God for them; and out of regard for another whose works I cannot call good, or do not know, I am careful that I do not despise and disdain the good work of God (which may be contained therein). In accordance with the Apostle Paul's advice in I Thess. 5:21, and so far as God grants, I can also examine authors outside of ours. I shall believe that the spirit of Jesus is not so limited that He cannot awaken still more witnesses of the truth and reveal yet more divine mysteries which another did not have.

Schultz took up the defense on April 27:

Regarding the point about other and strange writings, since you mention them, I, too, want to explain myself, and I cannot express myself otherwise than that I am of the opinion that all of them are philosophical and cannot harmonize with Holy Scripture; that they are not in accord

with Christian theology, and are not analogous to the simple, Christian, apostolic faith. Out of their principles it follows that the honor of God is diminished, the passion and atonement of Christ are depreciated and made insufficient. But from this it does not follow that one judges or condemns the authors. I also cannot agree with this . . .

Granting a certain area of agreement, he proceeded to list his objections to Wagner's position:

I can truly say that I, too, am glad when I hear of, or see, a light and knowledge in the gloom, be it from whatever people it will, and will not be adverse to reading it, whoever has a strong mind and is certain of his ground, in order to see how far it agrees with Holy Scripture and is analogous to the Christian faith. But to mingle it with the confession after which one is named and which once for all is the foundation of the heart, or even to associate it therewith, that I cannot do. The use one makes today of Paul's words, I Thess. 5:21, to me is quite serious. In the first place one clearly sees that it was written to the church. But if Caspar Schwenkfeld and the confessors of those times, amidst the confusion and disagreement, laid much stress on it, it is well to consider that at that time the pure apostolic confession was submerged and the Holy Scriptures falsified, excepting what God began to awaken here and there. Here in the country I have heard women and young people quote this passage with delight, but they have little understanding and much less, the spirit of examination. But, my God, alas! what is the result? Pure confusion. A genuine confession befitting to Christians can in no wise stand steadfast on such a course. I would think that in this present time of grace, when God has preserved for us the precious, pure testimony,

in addition to the Holy Scriptures, and has granted it to us before all the world, as a beneficence, it would be more befitting for us to accept the admonition and counsel of Paul, Heb. 10: 21-25, and to devote ourselves to observe the same with thanksgiving. And now, farewell! In closing, I heartily assure you that I am sorry for you in this matter and commend you to God, as I believe that you do.

Quite obviously, the discussion had reached an impasse. The divergent opinions were not black and white, but two shades of gray. Wagner made one final observation in May, noting that many of the so-called "strange" authors were kindly disposed toward the Schwenkfelder testimony:

Concerning your opinion about other . . . writings, that they are written without any discrimination at all, I leave to your consideration that there are many blessed writings among the same which surely were not written without the Holy Spirit, by children of God, for the edification of many; and (I ask) whether such expressions are not going too far. Among some authors who do not entirely agree with Schwenkfelder doctrine, one can find mild, kind, and moderate expressions about us. Long ago many false, unfounded, and unproven accusations against certain testimonies in the same have been refuted sufficiently to the glorification and magnification of the precious merits of Jesus Christ.

Conservative leader Balthaser Hoffman finally took a non-conciliatory attitude toward the liberal faction, but this only served to quicken the crisis. Unable to moderate the quarrel, he resigned his nominal position for a second time at the close of the church year in 1744, but he was again prevailed upon to resume charge several months later. Unfortunately, his third term was no less stormy than

the previous ones had been and he was criticized roundly for his adamant and intolerant attitude.

Wagner was a frequent caller at Hoffman's house during this trying period and the conversation generally dwelled on this bone of contention between the liberals and the conservatives. Following one such visit, Hoffman was so moved that he made a brief transcription of the discussion:

Abraham Wagner was here with me today. We talked to one another about the spiritual rebirth of man. I confessed to him my beliefs on the subject and he agreed exactly, said that he had found nothing unusual on the subject in Schwenkfeld and Crautwald, had also investigated the Scriptures with this in mind, but they dwell almost exclusively on the regeneration of all mankind and not specifically on the existence and conduct of the individual.

We talked about Christ's word in Matthew 11:12 and I said that the Greek did not read exactly the same, but was much more like Schwenkfeld read it, and Adam Reissner also read it the same way, that I thought learned people who set about to bring forward a translation should have the capacity to retain original meanings. . . .

I was always fearful, and today I became especially aware of the fact, that when one has to deal with persons like Wagner, people who have such clear convictions and conceptions, it would be impossible to confine them to one "way", include them all in one confession of faith, where there would be no disagreements or hindrances. One is weak, slow and inconsiderate in not recapturing the old spirit . . . there is too much withdrawing and giving in to small points of doctrine. I was quite anxious and fearful. . . .

Hoffman's fears were well grounded. Early in November, 1745, he stopped in at the house of Christopher Wiegner and found that Abraham Wagner was also visiting there. The three men discussed affairs pertaining to Sunday meetings and services in a general way until Wiegner brought up the matter of a pointed letter that Hoffman had recently sent to Wagner. In this letter Hoffman intimated that services would be abandoned entirely because there was too much disagreement among the members of the group. The underlying purpose of the letter was to move Wagner into an expression of support for continuing the meetings in spite of the discord. Hoffman was disappointed. Wagner deplored the proposed action, stating that it would cause an unnecessary hardship for those people who insisted on having their children catechized, but in Hoffman's own words: "he still didn't urge me not to give up the meetings".

Some semblance of form was continued for several more years, but following Hoffman's final resignation in 1749, organizational attempts were left in limbo for almost five years. When a conference was reconvened in 1753, the liberal party was in control. Rules, doctrines and pledges were not taken into consideration. At best, a loose compact was formed, whereby participating families expressed their willingness to convene at pre-designated homes for mutual edification on pertinent religious themes. Such a gathering was referred to as a *Besuch* (visit), rather than the more formal *Versammlung* (meeting). It was nothing more than a semi-private arrangement for religious education and while it failed to completely fill the needs of conservative elements, it did offer enough latitude and freedom to permit participation by the extreme liberals. This compromise resolved the last major crisis among the Schwenkfelder group during Wagner's life and for the next decade his relationship with the rest of the Silesians became more comfortable, thereby releasing energy for considerations of a broader nature.

It is doubtful if anyone in eighteenth century America logged more hours on horseback, wrote more letters or kept a more extensive

diary than Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the pastor of three small Lutheran congregations in southeastern Pennsylvania. There can be no doubt that his amazing energy, evangelistic personality and administrative prowess was one of the key stabilizing forces in the spiritual life of the German communities in the Colonies. He traveled from New York to Georgia, minimizing tensions, organizing congregations and securing pastors, books, money and medicines from Europe. He did not have the inquisitive intellect that led some of his contemporaries to explore the possibilities of developing a new, more liberal alignment of religious associations, but he was well versed in the traditional Protestant doctrines and his solitary purpose was the introduction of a "practical, active Christianity" in accordance with Lutheran dogma. To that end, he was eminently successful.

Muhlenberg and Wagner apparently became acquainted in 1748 when an epidemic of pleurisy took an alarming number of lives in Pennsylvania. Muhlenberg at this time lived in Trappe, Providence Township, five or six miles west of Wagner's home. Wagner's analysis of the illness and his various helpful prescriptions received wide attention "even beyond the Schuylkill", and it is around this time that the Muhlenberg family engaged Wagner in his professional capacity. The two men soon found that they had many mutual interests. For one thing there was the University of Halle. Although Muhlenberg was educated at Göttingen he served on the Halle faculty for several years and it was the latter University that dispatched him to Pennsylvania as a missionary. Both Wagner and Muhlenberg made wide use of "patent" medicines and formulas distributed from Halle. Then too, Muhlenberg was at one time the pastor of a small church in Upper Lusatia on the outskirts of Görlitz. He came to know many exiles and persecuted "Bohemians" who fled from the "Papists". In 1740 the town magistrate at Görlitz offered him a position at the Lutheran Church—all this within a year or two after the Wagners' departure from Saxony.

But there were topics of more moment and pertinence to engage

their attention. Muhlenberg ran head-on into Zinzendorf within a month of his disembarkation at Philadelphia on November 25, 1742. The Count felt no qualms at challenging the authenticity of Muhlenberg's commission and in their first interview he stoutly maintained: "I am inspector of all Lutheran churches in Pennsylvania and Lutheran pastor in Philadelphia". Muhlenberg was quite naturally perturbed at this effrontery and he never thereafter quite managed to make his peace with the Moravian movement. And he was quite concerned at the diversity of religious persuasions: "The German people here are like sheep gone astray, everyone running to his own way". In this connection he was painfully aware that many of the sectarians seemed to "despise preachers, churches, and sacraments indiscriminately". Thus he was a bit hesitant in becoming too familiar with Wagner and it was the latter who took the initiative in broadening their relationship.

The correspondence suggests that both men were aware of some fundamental differences of opinion, but they managed to conduct their relationship on the level of the common Christian heritage rather than on the controversial level of interpretation. Wagner spelled out this probable area of agreement in an unusually perceptive letter written to Muhlenberg on September 1, 1753.

'The Grace of God and the Peace of Christ Jesus, our universal Saviour and Redeemer be with you!

Most worthy Sir!

It would make me quite happy if you would receive these present lines not only as an acknowledgment of my indebtedness and obligation to you for the great deal of business you have sent to me, but also as an incidental reminder of your promised visits, both verbal and written, which have been long delayed. I was almost too bashful to write this because of my outward simplicity and plainness and for the further reason that I am not a well educated person. How-

ever, because I believe that along with your innate and praiseworthy erudition you possess at the same time a living knowledge of God and true devoutness by virtue of God's Grace, so I hope, that you will not be shocked by my humble abilities. I can say that the promises you made were quite pleasing to me and I hoped and wished (after hearing from many people of the sincerity and zeal you evidenced in your profession), that the Good Lord would bless our acquaintanceship, provided it materialized, to the glorification of his almighty name, which must be our chief aim in any circumstances.

Wagner devoted the next part of the letter to a resume of his liberal theological position and then turned his hand to answering Muhlenberg's attack on Anabaptist doctrine. The Schwenkfelders were erroneously classed with the Anabaptists for many years because their unorthodox viewpoint discouraged the unreserved importance placed upon the external act of baptism. Muhlenberg saw Anabaptist tendencies as one of the great threats to the well-being of his church party and as a consequence he rode intently through the hills, seeking out small groups of settlers, submitting them to exhaustive examinations of their spiritual condition, re-baptizing and ministering the Holy Sacraments with prompt dispatch. More than one frontiersman must have been amazed at the ease with which his sins were pardoned. For Wagner, there was much more involved and as he reflects in the letter, he was "only half-satisfied" with the act.

Perhaps there may be many people, whom I do not know, that think I hold the Holy Sacraments in contempt, the Sacraments that were established and prescribed by Christ. But this is not true. God knows this for he is acquainted with my heart. I am not pleased with those who reject or bother very little about the Sacraments, neither do I agree with

those who have never maintained that the keeping of the Sacraments was urged by Christ and zealously established and prescribed by him, especially those who hold only to Jewish customs and similar ceremonies, which belonged to the age of Christ and the Apostles, but are no longer valid, as Robert Barclay has proven in his *Apology*.¹¹ I was baptized as an infant, do not consider it as insignificant, but am only half-satisfied with the external act. 'This doesn't mean that I covet Anabaptism, but I endeavor through God's Grace to live honestly in accordance with the intimate relationship I myself have created with God and daily seek to be born anew in fulfillment of the new creation within me by virtue of the baptism of the Holy Spirit. To publicly celebrate the Holy Communion with God, as Christ intended and ordained it, would be the desire and joy of my heart, and where I fall short in this I must resign myself to God's will.

Turning his attention to current affairs of a more general nature, Wagner commiserated at great length on the sorry spectacle of mankind. The good doctor gave full rein to the sensitive side of his personality and after applying his critical faculties to an examination of the outside world he gave voice to a note of pessimism, a conclusion that has been the common stumbling-block for all idealists who become temporarily, at least, overwhelmed by imposing odds. Wagner made his recovery just in time.

Conditions in the so-called Christendom seem to be thoroughly deplorable and grievous. Of course, devout souls in

¹¹ Barclay was an outstanding Quaker theologian from Scotland and close friend of William Penn. His *Apology for the True Christian Divinity*, in Latin, was printed in 1676. A German translation appearing in 1740 was the edition referred to by Wagner. Barclay took Schwenkfeld's position on baptism—it was of the spirit and not water, baptism by water did not cleanse the heart, infant baptism was pure folly—an attitude that made his writings especially popular in Schwenkfelder circles.

all ages have made the same loud complaint, but when could things possibly have been worse than now? Who can relate all of the damages and misfortunes, and what will the future be like? The sensible, reverent life has become rare among mankind, the truly devout Christian soul forebears talking and has become silent. Satan commands and roguishly tricks men into coarse and subtle ways and most people are complacent in their unconverted condition. And yet they have hopes of attaining salvation through an imaginary, capricious belief, which makes them neither holy or righteous and through which they remain servants and slaves of Sin. And how miserable and desolate it appears, even among those who pretend and claim to offer something better to the cruel world, how successful then are the Devilish Spirit's lies and malicious devices?

How much subterfuge and corruption there is in these times! False freedom rages in the land like a virulent sickness and indeed, under the name of Christian liberty! The precious, noble concept of freedom is fearfully abused. How many people might easily mistake their convictions and spiritual beliefs for the true regeneration and re-birth, and submit themselves thereto without ever attaining the true stage of conversion? Yes, children who have come all the way to the point of regeneration die, because the power to be born anew weakens and falters. The strength to break completely out of darkness into the light has been taken away from youth!

The Father of Compassion will behold this with mercy, restrain the corruption, rescue his honor, and his desolate children who cry out for his help in redeeming them from their pitiful state will be rescued by the . . . Holy Spirit. At the same time he will awaken many hearts in the slumber of death and false security and transport them to his King-

dom. Yes, his mercy will spread out over all mankind and save those who still wish to be saved, in fulfillment of his dear son, Jesus Christ's most precious wish.

This which has here flown out of my pen is the act of a friendly neighbor and I take the liberty of sending it to you in the hope that you will receive it in the best spirit. Meanwhile, the promised visit will still be hopefully awaited and I enclose herewith friendly salutations and remain constantly at your command, in the loving hands of our common Saviour, Jesus Christ.

Sir, your humble and obedient Servant,
Abraham Wagner, Practitioner of Physic
Commonly called the Schwenkfelder Doctor.

Muhlenberg eventually made good on his promise and that the long awaited visit materialized is indicated in the only extant letter written by Muhlenberg to Wagner. Under date of June 22, 1757, he penned these lines to "Herrn Doctor Wagner in Worcester".

Worthy Doctor and friend in Christ:

Although on account of my extensive travels I have but scant time and opportunity to profit by your delightful and edifying company, the loss will nevertheless be amply recovered since we are both poor sinners, and pardoned children meet daily at the only fountain of grace to draw by prayerful faith in his divine power, what is needful to our life and conduct. For if we are justified by faith we have made peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ and also on the same basis we have an entrance in faith to this grace in which we stand. Hallelujah.

Nevertheless, I owe it soon to visit you again which shall by God's help come to pass as soon as possible, because I am also indebted to you physically.

To increase my indebtedness I ask for the customary ingredients for my family ¹². . . and along with my heartiest salutation, a devout prayer committing you to God's protection,

Your humble
Muhlenberg

Providence, June 22

1757

The final testimony to this friendship is found in a codicil to Wagner's will: "I give and bequeath unto the Rev. H. M. Muhlenberg in Provid. Philad. a Book, called *D. Pauli Antonii Collegium Antitheticum*, gedruckt zu Halle 1732 in quarto, it hath been his Book before".

All in all, a rather nice way to indicate appreciation for the warmth engendered by an amicable association and certainly, a most appropriate manner for one book lover to take his departure from a kindred spirit.

Wagner's association with the mystics, pietists, separatists and universalists ¹³ took on an international flavor after 1750. Gruber, Saur and deBenneville sent large packets of letters to prominent theological figures in Europe, but no single person received as much attention as Gerhard Tersteegen, Prussian mystic and hymn writer. Born at Meurs in 1697, Tersteegen abandoned a career in business and took up the practice of medicine, a service he generally rendered without charge, an eccentricity that helps to explain why he led an ascetic life in his later years. But Tersteegen was deeply sincere in his attempts to alleviate the suffering of mankind. His career was, in

¹² Muhlenberg placed the following order "Aloes hep: Myrrhis elect: nitro puris; und pulv: Rhub—an ounce of each and one shillings worth of saffron".

¹³ There doesn't appear to be much point in drawing out elaborate definitions for these categories. After all, where in one human nature does mysticism end and pietism begin, or is there any more exquisite paradox than a union of separatists?

effect, an imitation of Christ along the lines of conduct set forth by an earlier church hero—Thomas à Kempis. And much of this sincerity crowded its way into the many books Tersteegen wrote. Wagner admired Tersteegen's detachment from the worldly life and though he did not imitate Tersteegen's attitude in respect to professional fees, he did copy and reflect much of Tersteegen's pious devotion in his approach to an inward spiritual life.

Saur began printing some of Tersteegen's writings as early as 1744 and in a few years his work was as popular among the Germans in Pennsylvania as it was on the Continent. Hundreds of pious souls flocked to Tersteegen's hut to be "awakened and saved", a traffic that depleted his energy: "When I speak in my house, four to five hundred souls come in a few hours—yet my ability decreases more and more". His correspondence was so profuse that he frequently ran more than a year behind in answering queries. Wagner first wrote to Tersteegen in August, 1755. A copy of his initial letter is all that survives and there are no indications that it reached its intended destination or that Tersteegen's "weak energies" permitted him to reply.

In the opening lines, Wagner once again confessed his humility and humble station, indicating that an inferiority complex, a personal sense of unworthiness and rejection was still very much with him. This kind of hesitation suggests that Dr. Wagner may have had a retiring, introverted personality, a supposition that gains validity in view of his adoption of a pen name and a willingness that most of his writings should appear anonymously. This personal sense of insecurity, springing in large part from years of bitter persecution and intolerance, was certainly one of the compelling forces that led him to seek comfort and protection under divine auspices. And yet, as excerpts from the letter reveal, there was nothing Puritanical or negative about his approach—it was an "eternal, universal and unlimited love":

To the dearly beloved brother Gerhard Tersteegen:
the grace of God and salvation in Christ Jesus our common
Saviour and Mediator!

In the Same, dearly beloved friend and brother! For a long time I have had an inclination to write to you, had not many activities and bodily weaknesses (and also my own unworthiness), prevented me. But strong confidence in the sincere love which I have for you (through the grace of God) finally outweighed all this so that I now write these lines to you (invoking divine grace for its blessing, that it grant that the same may redound to the honor of God and our own and our neighbor's edification, etc., should a correspondence follow therefrom). I was further motivated since our dear brother Benneville (with whom, by the grace of God I became acquainted here in this country) encouraged me somewhat thereto and promised me that if I could write to you, he would enclose it in his letter.

When I came here to Pennsylvania in 1737 I saw some information and also more than one testimony about you, all of which was very agreeable to me, and thereupon I had a sincere love and inclination toward you and also wished to have acquaintanceship with you personally, or to correspond with you. It is very gratifying and beneficial and blessed to have association and fellowship with proven and experienced souls, even though one must seek one's salvation not with men nor with any creature, but only with the living fountain, namely, in Christ Jesus our only Master and faithful shepherd of souls.

This eternal, universal and unlimited love has also given me an unbiased love to all children; be they called what they will with respect to external religion, so that I do not desire to dwell on controversial and secondary things, but only to be intent upon the chief matter of true Christianity among

souls, namely, whether genuine repentance, faith, and Godliness are to be found among them; whether the spirit of Christ is at work within them; whether they have surrendered their heart to the eternal love, and whether they walk in the communion and presence of God.

Though I have a few acquaintances outside, and do not seek such, (after the first lesson in the little ABC of Thomas à Kempis which I formerly, in 1742, composed in rhyme and harmonized with Holy Scripture, of which perhaps C. Saur, who printed it, sent you one or more sheets), I also find this unbiased stand the one needful and chief thing of true Christianity. In your writings and your letters which the brothers Benneville, Gruber, and Saur have frequently communicated to me, the same have always been very pleasing and edifying because it also is my guidance and the thing about which I am most concerned and wherein I desire to become ever more earnest and faithful for the hallowing of the name of God.

Now my dearly beloved brother, I beg and hope that you will excuse my boldness and attribute these, my few lines to love, from whence they have sprung, and I shall be very happy. Meanwhile I commend myself to your intercession and remain.

Your devoted, weak co-wanderer
Abraham Wagner

Worcester, August 27, 1755.

It is rather difficult to read this letter and realize that it was intended as the overture of an eagerly sought acquaintanceship between two professional colleagues, since Wagner doesn't even allude to the fact that he too was a physician. Medicine would seem to play an almost incidental role in his life and surely the same thing could be said of Tersteegen. What of deBenneville, Melchior Heebner and

Adolph Meyer, Wagner's more intimate colleagues in America? They too were vastly preoccupied with liberalizing theology and it can be fairly stated that medicine occupied a secondary role in their affairs. To be sure, medicine had not yet attained the stature of a legitimate science. It still owed allegiance to a higher power, enjoyed very little autonomy and the early eighteenth century physician wasn't too much more than an enlightened apothecary. But this hardly accounts for the fundamental absorption in fostering spiritual liberality.

It would seem that the "call", in the sense of a deep-seated urge to be a benefactor to mankind, was largely conditioned by the spiritual atmosphere of the times and not the physical. There was something of the Good Samaritan, but a great deal more of Saint Paul in the lives of these men. After all, was it becoming to fret about fevers and not worry about the implications of that last, fateful affliction? In spite of all that medicine could or could not do, the patients would recover everytime, save one. Did it not behoove a conscientious physician to worry about his clients welfare after medical artifice had failed? And by and large, affliction was still believed to be the result of man's sinfulness. In all honesty and with the lack of sophistication characteristic of his time, Abraham Wagner could say: "God himself bruises us and heals us again. He permits us to feel keenly our misery and our merited damnation, and brings to naught our own piety in order that we may know Him aright. . . ."

The quarrel these men had was not with Christianity itself, but with religious organizations that had become ends unto themselves. In the process the pure gospel had been squeezed, shaped, and shaken until it bore little resemblance to the refreshing and wholesome message proclaimed by Christ. These physicians were not liberal in the modern sense which implies a "watering-down" of the Biblical message. On the contrary, in their drive to uncover the essential truths they became fundamentalists of the first order. George de-

Benneville, who preached at thousands of meetings and gatherings, never took unto himself, as so many of his contemporaries did, the title of "Reverend". He had some provocative thoughts on the matter: "Since the beginning of Christianity, the unhappy situation in the world has been that the priesthood has been greatly divided and widely separated in their opinion, and not only that, but they have reviled, rejected, persecuted each other in the worst manner, often unto death . . . what can be the reason for so many disagreements? The only reason is that the essential truth is so divided and torn into so many pieces that it is often lost in the strife".

And there was good reason for deploring the friction by conflicting doctrines. Many of the migrants to Pennsylvania who fervently hoped that injustice and indoctrination would be left behind, were discouraged by the manner in which accusations and charges emanating from the continent sped across the ocean. In a rare departure from his usual calm, mild-mannered attitude, Wagner became indignant at several indefensible slurs cast upon the Schwenkfelders by Magister Friedrich Christian Oetinger, a Swabian mystic who was for a time rather intimately connected with the Moravian movement. Following a squabble with Zinzendorf, Oetinger retreated to Straussburg where he proceeded to vent his rage in a recriminating volume called *Das Rechte Gericht . . . in dem Buch Hiob*. His condemnation of the Schwenkfelders arose out of Schwenkfeld's interpretation of the nature of the Trinity and a minimization of marriage as an important sacrament. As one of the traditional sacraments of the Roman Church, the emphasis on marriage as a legitimate "divine mystery" was leavened by the Protestant Reformation. Some commentators chose to receive this de-emphasis as just evidence of immorality and lewd conduct. In a tortuous thought sequence Oetinger announced that such a position placed the Holy Spirit in an attitude of dangerous familiarity with "weibslente"—the female form. To Oetinger this was a concept that "completely knocked the bottom out of the barrel". Wagner voiced his exception and pointed

out Oetinger's error in a memorandum enclosed with a number of letters sent to Germany around 1750.

One cannot help but be very much astonished over the accusations with which M. Oetinger in his discourse about the Moravian Brethren inflicts the so-called Schwenkfelders in the doctrine concerning marriage, because one knows: 1. That in the writings of Schwenkfeld there is contained nothing in the least that agrees with the false tenets of Isaiah Stiffel and the accusations cited, but rather the contrary; that he calls matrimony a sacrament or mystery, on account of the prototype of Christ and His Church (Eph., 5), which is far from it. The Apology of the Augsburg Confession in a certain sense also concedes this. 2. It is known and affirmed in Church History that the enemies, persecutors, and adversaries of Schwenkfeld, who attack even the smallest trifle in his doctrine, have found nothing in his life that is reproachful; that they have emphatically accorded him great praise and testified that he led a devout, holy, and irreproachable life. Neither in his doctrine nor in his life is anything of that kind known. 3. Throughout the entire 200 years, there is not the least trace or report that at any time a so-called Schwenkfelder who, in addition to the Holy Scriptures, confessed this doctrine, entertained such principles. Indeed, one did not even hear of such an accusation through all this time, though one read many other lies and slanderous writings against Schwenkfeld and his co-believers. The two persons mentioned by M. Oetinger are entirely unknown to the Schwenkfelder friends.

Therefore one has regarded the accusation of M. Oetinger as a completely new, strange, unknown, and unheard of thing, and one cannot regard it otherwise than as lies, calumnies, and slander which come from the father of lies,

regardless of the instrument whereby they be promulgated. Since one does not expect suchlike from M. Oetinger, one is all the more astonished because he himself was in Herrnhuth at the time when these people lived in Berthelsdorf and Görlitz, and in addition was acquainted with the late Christopher Wiegner who was a son of these people. Had he at that time investigated the matter, he would have found it quite otherwise. And in case there had ever been such loose rabble which had entertained such errors in doctrine and practice and been called Schwenkfelders by the ignorant among other denominations, it would have been absolutely improper and unbecoming for a man so very learned as M. Oetinger is, who knows church history, to rely on it and to accuse an innocent author, whose Confession is clearly known, with such horrible and loathsome tenets and works, so inexcusably in print before the whole world. Surely, if one had any acquaintanceship with M. Oetinger or with anyone in his neighborhood, one would demand of him befitting proof, impartially (because we are bound neither to men nor sects), which, if he is at all an honest man (and one does not suspect anything else of him), he cannot and will not dare to refuse out of obligation to duty, and for the sake of Christian love and the honor of God, for it is no small thing to bring innocent people so shamefully into disrepute in public print.

The theological implications are much too devious to consider here, but Wagner took his personal position from Paul's letter to the Ephesians and the discussion of matrimony in the fifth chapter. Wagner was so disturbed by this controversy that he composed a poem on "The mystery of marriage" which he handed to a newlywed couple on the day of their nuptials.¹⁴

¹⁴ See p. 125.

Accusations and squabbles such as this were of little moment in themselves, but they went a long way in snuffing out the ecumenical, liberal spirit that characterized the "Pennsylvania Religion" of an earlier decade. The contesting groups were hammered once again into isolated camps bristling with theological weapons that bore the stamp of Scriptural authority. In 1762, the Schwenkfelders held a general conference given over to the discussion of this sorry state of affairs: "Envy, slander, calumny and false accusations have separated us . . . we ought to turn away from these things, avoid useless disputations, live Christian lives". In an effort to reconcile the divisive forces, the following questions were set forth: "Will we be able to bear with one another if a closer union is formed so that what is undertaken may not be ended in strife? Will we be willing to grant to each other the liberty of reading authors other than those commonly accepted by us?" (Abraham Wagner insisted on this point.) "Will we be ready to bear with one another if in some point of doctrine we can not agree in our views"? The answers to these questions were affirmative and within the year a catechism was prepared and an 800 page hymnbook was printed for the Schwenkfelders by Christopher Saur, Jr. Thirty-four of the hymns were contributed by Abraham Wagner.

Thus, after two hundred years, the Schwenkfelders began to go the way of all religious institutions. It had become painfully evident that some form of organization was requisite to survival. Institutions dedicated to the preservation of freedom, whether it be political, economic or theological have to exercise enough discipline to avoid chaos and in the end, Wagner the idealist, had to compromise with Wagner the realist. Liberty at best is a tenuous thing. The very laws that are established to protect it are too often the source of its deprivation. This was the fear that motivated Wagner to shun and decry organized church bodies. It was a fear derived from bitter experience and it became manifest in his fight for liberty. But the sectarians and separatists failed to realize that liberty can only be

secured under law; that the customs, traditions and intelligent authority of regulated church bodies alone make for this kind of security and permanence; and that peace can only be found in a happy fusion of this spirit of law and the spirit of liberty. This knowledge, too, finally came to Abraham Wagner.

PHYSICIAN

IN ITS ORIGINAL CONTEXT, the word "physician" was used as a synonym for a "natural philosopher", applying to a party cast in the mold of a Socrates or an Aristotle. These reflectors and deep thinkers were not particularly concerned about the art of healing, but attempted by pure contemplation to set forth a logical pattern of the workings of the universe. For many centuries the true spirit of science was held in check by the exhilarating experience of fashioning abstract deductions. It was the kind of thing that worked best in a comfortable armchair, with folded hands and closed eyes. It was a mental set that began with Aristotle and it stayed put for almost two milleniums. Not until the seventeenth century did "natural philosophers" leave their comfortable perches and go out into the world to observe and experiment. Francis Bacon more than any other man captured the spirit of this fresh approach when he issued a call for all inquisitive men "to put nature on the rack and compel her to bear witness". His colleagues accepted the challenge and a new age of physical science was born.

The first great advancements in knowledge were achieved in the fields of astronomy and mathematics. Medicine was kind of a step-child that belonged on the one hand to botany, the source of virtually

all of the important drugs, and on the other to biology—an area of investigation critically hampered by a quasi-religious attitude that felt the body should be inviolate. In 1628, Dr. William Harvey of London demonstrated the essential principles of blood circulation, providing a solid and rational basis for an entirely new theory of medicine. For the next century almost all systems and pathological explanations took Harvey's discovery as their departure point. Unfortunately, the old ideas and thought patterns were of such a durable nature that by the time Abraham Wagner developed his interest in medicine, the standard approach was still composed of about five parts of philosophy and only one part science. The "why" still held precedence over the "how".

And it was clearly evident that investigation and speculation had barely scratched the surface, that the large questions in the field of medicine remained unanswered. It was the kind of situation that attracted the attention of minds susceptible to the allurements and impact of fresh ideas. Theology had retreated to the security of Reformation thought structures, law was bogged down in the tedious protocol of court life and politics as a field of endeavor was essentially a matter of being born into the proper families. Science alone had the proper amount of elbow room and medicine afforded the broadest opportunity to do the most good. Wagner knew as a boy that he was destined to become a physician.

There were two important medical systems abroad in the land during the forepart of the eighteenth century and for no other reason beyond the fact that both of them emanated from the University of Halle, Abraham Wagner must have been exposed to them. George Ernst Stahl, erstwhile physician to the King of Prussia, maintained that the thinking, animal soul was the chief substance of life. Physical disorders resulted from the soul's reaction to the cause of the illness, and were manifestations of the internal battle. The cure therefore, lay in removing obstacles blocking the soul's battle tactics and supporting it in the war against the cause. Stahl ap-

parently was not too much interested in the cause. His opponent, Friedrich Hoffman was the first professor of medicine on the faculty at Halle. Hoffman viewed the body as a machine made operative by a "nerve stream" originating in the brain. This current accompanied the blood to all the organs of the body where it induced them to execute their specific task. Sickness therefore was caused by an excess of current or an insufficient flow. The excess variety of illness became manifest in cramps and convulsions whereas the other type resulted in weakness and a general debilitation.

Instead of broadening the scope of investigation, these oversimplified theories merely served to discourage the suspicion that the quest was actually a profoundly complex affair, composed of hundreds of individual, isolated causes that could never be drawn into one system. After all, there were always enough patients who recovered to justify some measure of faith in any given theory. And if the patient did not recover, the theorists reasoned that the flaw lay in the prescription for that particular manifestation of the illness.

It was this latter field of experimentation and contrivance that held Wagner's attention, and most of the other practicing physicians of his age were similarly content to let theory well enough alone. It really didn't matter an awful lot whether or not any given theory was true, as long as it worked. And most of them did work within a narrow scope. For practical purposes the essence of the human body could roughly be divided into solids and fluids, each of which were liable to many deviations from a healthy state. The art of medicine lay in detecting the proper prescription to alleviate or cure the distress. It is still a valid art today, but the accumulated wisdom of two centuries of scientific investigation has removed much of the frustration for the practitioner—and the patient.

Surgery, as it is understood today, was virtually non-existent and it played a very minor role in the healing process. Some indication of its stature as a profession can be gathered from the fact that throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, operative procedures

were largely left in the hands of barbers or "barber-surgeons". The services proffered by these sanguine individuals included bleeding, leeching, purging, amputation, caesarian section and the extraction of teeth. The techniques were rigidly controlled by "Barber and Chirurgeon Guilds" that not only outlined the course of apprenticeship, but also pegged the fees for the surgeons. As an incentive to diligence and prudence, the Guild forbade the "barber" to collect more than half of the fee if the patient died. It is doubtful that this gesture was a source of comfort to the patient. In Germany, "barber-surgeons" never attained lofty stature in medical circles, either socially or professionally, but their peculiar skills gained them a wide following and the "medical doctors" appropriated some of their techniques as a legitimate adjunct to the healing process. Surgeons fared somewhat better in America where they were fewer in number and by the time of the Revolution, they were in great demand. As early as 1750, Wagner referred patients with broken limbs to an "intelligent chirurgion".

With the exception of a small minority of upper class students who were financially able to attend a university, most physicians acquired their knowledge in a lengthy period of apprenticeship to a practicing physician. Contracts were generally arranged when the prospective student was twelve or thirteen years old and the informal period of training often continued for ten or twelve years. The apprentice lived with the preceptor and served in many capacities, the duties ranging from domestic chores around the house to compounding elixirs, rolling pills and preparing bandages. A student was obligated to spend long hours cultivating the doctor's herb garden in order to acquire a practical knowledge of botany. A doctor's best friend was his horse and if there were any illusions of grandeur about the profession, most of them were off in the confines of the stable. Odd hours were devoted to the study of "book medicine" and sketching anatomical charts, but the chief source of knowledge came through observation of the doctor in action. Matriculation depended on the

ability of the student to pass a battery of examinations administered by regional medical societies.

This was the kind of arrangement whereby Wagner achieved his knowledge and ability in the profession. There must have been other preceptors in addition to Melchior Heebner, but there are no available records confirming such apprenticeships. Neither has it been possible to determine under what auspices Wagner received his "diploma", but indications point to Liegnitz, the provincial seat which supported a flourishing "medical college" in the first decades of the century. There were no serious considerations involved in striking out alone and beyond a cabinet full of bottles and drugs, there were only a handful of required instruments. Thus, it would be safe to assume that by the time Wagner left Silesia for Saxony in 1736, he was generally accepted as a full-fledged "practitioner in physick".

Medical authorities on the continent took more than a passing interest in the colonization of the New World and many anxious queries were directed to keen observers on the scene. Most of the anticipation centered about the possibility of discovering indigenous shrubs and herbs with unusual healing properties. There was promise of a completely new chapter in botany and enthusiasm was further quickened by reports that the Indians were adept in the successful application of herbal medicine. Johann Adam Gruber at one point intended to compile a local medical survey and send it back to Germany, but he encountered some difficulties:

I certainly promised to compile a medical history of the Indians. But the knowing ones, who are the best natural scientists, live from 50 to 100 miles from hence, so that I cannot get to talk with them. The most frequent diseases among us are cold and burning fevers, epileptic fits, small-pox and stomach troubles. The root of the wild Spikenard, boiled in milk, is used by the Indians as an antidote for

snake-bites. It is taken inwardly, and applied outwardly as well. The *Bibernell* essence with which I supplied myself, has thus far served my house well. Childrer with us grow fast but have no stamina. In summer the heat is great and in winter it is cold.

Gruber's reference to the "Bibernell essence"¹ suggests a wide addiction to patent medicines in the early years of the Pennsylvania Colony and, indeed, the settler who left home without a substantial supply of one or two favorite all-purpose remedies was a rare one. Doctors were few and many arduous miles between. Most of the formulas were manufactured at leading medical centers on the continent and Halle in particular discovered that the trade was enormously profitable. For many years the Lutheran ecclesiastical authorities operated a warehouse in Philadelphia for dispensing Halle's famed polychrest pills,² an illusive compound known as *essentia dulcis*³ and bezoar powders.⁴ The return to the University for at least one fiscal year was reported to have been in excess of \$25,000.

¹ A mixture using expressed anise seed oil for a base. Chiefly employed for antiseptic and preventive qualities (which it did not have), anise is now largely used for imparting aromatic flavors to liquors.

² By definition, a polychrest was an all purpose remedy, useful in the prevention of many diseases. These pills were first developed by Dr. Johann Becher, a German chemist living in London circa 1680. They enjoyed an immediate popularity, based largely on the advertisement, and as might be expected there were many imitations and variations put on the market. Several of the formulas employed more than twenty ingredients, but the basic substances were *Socotrine Aloes* from the east coast of Africa, *myrrhae electae* from the East Indies and *mithridate*, an unscientific preparation using a stimulant narcotic.

³ *Essentia dulcis* was a gold tincture widely used for "strengthening the heart". The particular formula dispensed from Halle was developed by Dr. Richter and was first exported to Hungary where initial results were quite favorable. Most formulas began with gold leaf which was powdered, calcified and refined through many tedious processes, some of them lasting forty days. Moderate doses of gold preparation do increase the intensity and frequency of the pulse, but they are all decidedly poisonous and corrosive.

⁴ Gall stones from animals native to Peru (*bezoar occidentalis*) and the East Indies (*bezoar orientalis*) were the chief source of the bezoar compounds. The bezoar craze swept the continent toward the close of the seventeenth century and more than 100 different prescriptions are extant, none of which was worth the effort.

While these patent compounds may have had negative physical merit, it would be difficult to underestimate their positive psychological beneficence.

But the line between a well-intended legitimate remedy and an aimless, bizarre mixture was very narrow and a host of quacks capitalized on the miseries and anxieties of the populace. Pastor Muhlenberg reported on a mild flurry whipped up by one Johann Andrea, a quasi-minister living in Upper Hanover Township: "In the neighboring locality of Goschenhoppen a rumor began to float about that a great doctor of medicine had established himself there who wrought miraculous cures and prognosticated the most minute details from urine. It turned out to be Pastor Andrea, who had taken on a young barber as apprentice and opened an apothecary's shop. The people came from forty, fifty, sixty and a hundred miles around. . . . His medicine caused them to swell up and burst in two, as if they had been poisoned".

The same lack of sophistication which led the colonists to quacks and faith-healers kept them forever tinkering with their own bodies. Remedies were passed from house to house and accepted with a benign confidence that just wasn't warranted. Itinerant beggars made a living by bartering prescriptions for meals. Every section of the countryside had one or two laymen who were unusually adept at bleeding and cupping. People dropped in to be "let" with the same casual air that rings the average aspirin bottle today. Of course, it is often forgotten that any indisposition was a luxury that could not be indulged in the first half of eighteenth century Pennsylvania, or later for that matter, but sound health then had a pertinence which to some degree has disappeared.

There were many reasons for this fixed concern beyond the instinctive drive for self-preservation and chief among these were a relatively high mortality rate, especially among infants and children. The trouble began on the rat infested boats where fevers and small-pox snuffed out life with a regularity that almost became monot-

onous. Entire families were wiped out in the course of the two months voyage. Contagion on the land was hardly less frequent and diphtheria, dysentery, pleurisy, measles and poxes cut a wide swath through the population. Time was often reckoned in terms of epidemics.

Needless to say, doctors were accorded a welcome out of all proportion to the efficacy of their drugs, but the mere presence in any community of a physician had a quieting, comforting effect. The difficulty lay in their scarcity, especially prior to 1750. Philadelphia and Germantown enjoyed the consolation of a small colony of English physicians, but they rarely ventured more than a few miles beyond the city limits and their attitude toward the lower class German settlers could hardly be described as sympathetic. As a consequence, the up-country, German doctor was a much harried individual. When Dr. deBenneville settled in Oley during the spring months of 1742, he was besieged by patients coming from homes ten, fifteen and twenty miles removed. It was an impossible situation at best and the most diligent practitioner could not hope to visit all the afflicted. More often than not, the settler who rode many weary miles to summon the doctor had to return with a handful of misshapen pills and one or two packets of powders, the end result of the doctor's educated guess on the basis of a verbal description of the sickness.

There are no available statistics specifying the number of legitimate doctors in the German communities during the forepart of the century, but an indication can be realized from the fact that as late as 1773 the town of Lebanon found it necessary to advertize for a doctor. One of Wagner's friends, Adolph Meyer was the only accredited physician in Lehigh County in 1742. The upper portions of Montgomery County appear to have been the joint province of deBenneville and Wagner until 1754 when one Johannes Geschwind dispersed medicines from a rented log house in the Goshenhoppen Valley. Wagner's own area of influence covered the larger part of central and northern Montgomery County and not infrequently he

was called on for assistance in those regions of Chester County and Delaware County lying on the west bank of the Schuylkill River. The financial return of such a widespread practice was considerable, but it could hardly have been a luxurious existence.

Within the bounds of the profession, it was a lonely life, calling for a great deal of courage and conviction. There were no medical centers or hospitals to appeal to for assistance or enlightenment. Colleagues could too rarely be consulted for advice. Books and manuscripts were the court of final appeals, a court that was as cold and evasive as it was helpful. In the absence of any fair opportunity to gain fresh insight, the physician could only heap prescription on prescription in the plaintive hope that one formula at least would be effective. Wagner's accumulation of remedies went as far back as Martin John, Jr., an eminent Schwenkfelder chemist of Hockenau, Silesia, who established his reputation as a physician soon after the close of the Thirty Year War in 1648. Dr. John was a keen student of nature and he published a volume on bees and the healthful merits of honey that stood out as the definitive study in that field for the better part of a century. Wagner's knowledge of Dr. John's compounds probably grew out of his apprenticeship with Melchior Heebner who had in turn been a student under John. Wagner's medical manuscripts are full of notations such as the following listing, one of nine palliatives for a "random" fever: "M. John's 'white skin-water' applied to the forehead is useful in reducing the fever".

Wagner's professional kinship with John, who died in 1707 at the age of eighty-three (an accomplishment that reflected favorably on the reliability of his bromides), was further cemented by a warm friendship that existed between John and Abraham's great-grandfather, chemist George Hauptmann of Lauterseiffen, Silesia. In the seventeenth century, the boundary separating the fields of chemistry and medicine was not clearly defined and in most cases the term "chemist" was applied to any physician who evidenced an unusual degree of curiosity in studying the effects of heat and mixture upon

various natural substances. As the medical theorist attempted to subscribe all illness to one cause, so the chemist's great project was the discovery of one compound that would cure all diseases. This vain quest for a "philosopher's stone" led to many weird and absurd experiments, but it introduced just enough new knowledge into the field to maintain a legitimate stature. The refinement of mercury and its application to the treatment of venereal diseases was an achievement worthy of any age.

The specific area of Hauptmann's research is not definitely known, but he appears to have been deeply interested in the development of dentifrices and the production of a "golden heart powder", a name that suggests medieval alchemy and indicates the fundamental absorption in metals that still characterized chemistry in the seventeenth century. By nature, Hauptmann was a deeply religious person and his investigation of natural elements contributed less to his prominence than did his speculation in theology. By 1690, Hauptmann was the chief spokesman of the Schwenkfelder group and his contributions in this latter field surpassed any distinction afforded him in chemistry. Wagner was seven years old when his great-grandfather died at the age of eighty-seven, and his remembrance of the worthy gentleman was probably quite dim, but the influence cannot be denied. Abraham continually referred to Hauptmann as "my beloved great-grandfather" and in spite of the fact that one of Hauptmann's own sons was also a physician,⁵ Abraham appears to have inherited many of his forebearer's chemical notations and manuscripts. In this manner, George Hauptmann's "golden heart powder" found its way into the medical history of Pennsylvania.

Wagner's extensive library contained the works of many other authorities whose advice and experience he found helpful. Johann Gottlieb Neumann, the city-physician of Freyberg, was an expert in the field of anatomy. His small treatise, *De Flexu & Reflexu*

⁵ Hans George Hauptmann, second of eight children, practiced medicine in Hainau until 1738.

Sanguinis Microcosmico, printed at Dresden in 1728, was widely heralded as the finest exposition on blood circulation then in existence. Gottfried Rothe, a native of Görlitz, did pioneer work in the field of pathology and his conclusions were published posthumously at Halle in 1717. A treatise on the attainment of old age⁶ suggests Wagner's interest in the more positive field of preventive medicine. The author, Dr. Theodore Zwinger of Basel, outlined a course of conduct "through which it is possible for man today to bring his life to more than a hundred years". Wagner's reaction was candid. On the inside leaf he copied a quotation from Thomas à Kempis: "Ah, you fool! Why do you ponder about living a long life when you are not certain of a day?"⁷ Wagner also had in his library volumes by Funk, Leister and Carl to supplement his own *materia medica*.

Doctoring by the book, unfortunately, was hardly more satisfactory in Wagner's time than it is today, and for all practical purposes, the library played little more than a reference role. Afflictions and maladies demand that immediate action be taken and patience, while it is demanded of the ill, is rarely tolerated on the part of the healer. As a man of action, he had to believe in what he was doing—there was little room for doubt.

An attitude of self-reliance then was the only approach left to the general practitioner. It was an attitude that quite frequently closed

⁶ *Unterricht ein Hohes Alter zu erlangen*, Nordhausen, 1726.

⁷ Wagner took the quotation from à Kempis' *Imitation of Jesus Christ*, Book I, Chapter XXIII. The remainder of the passage, from an English translation printed by Saur in 1749, reads like this: "How many Instances have you before your Eyes, or fresh in your Remembrance, of Persons miserable, deluded and disappointed in this Hope, and hurried out of the Body without any warning at all? How often have you been surprised with the News of this Friend being run thro', another drowned in crossing the Water, a Third breaking his Neck by a Fall, a Fourth fallen down dead at Table, or choaked with his Meat, a Fifth seized with an Apoplexy at Play, a Sixth burnt in his Bed, a Seventh murdered, an Eighth killed by Thieves, a Ninth struck with Lightning, or Blasting, or Pestilence, a Tenth swallowed up in an Earthquake. Such vast Variety of Deaths surround us, and so fleeting a Shadow is the Life of a Man.

minds to the possibilities of new ideas and pertinent developments. It stifled much of the skepticism and free thinking prerequisite to scientific advance and was a contributing factor to the painfully slow progress made in the field of medicine. Abraham Wagner was an exceptionally broadminded theologian. Was he also willing to exercise the same degree of liberality in his attitude toward medicine? This question can best be answered by comparing his thought on a given situation with that of several of his contemporaries.

In the spring of 1748 the Colonists were plagued by an epidemic of pleurisy. Muhlenberg took the traditional view that it was a disciplinary act of God and he found a source of congratulation in the fact that "God has very graciously spared *our* country congregations, while all around us many have been carried off. . . . This chastisement fills many with terror and is teaching them to give heed to the Word. . . ." With a candor characteristic of the time, Muhlenberg then set forth a summary analysis of the cause of the epidemic, ascribed to an English doctor from Virginia, that failed utterly to take God into consideration.⁸

(1) In our *climate* the air is very clear and thin and does not have power sufficiently to press the *globuli sanguinis* in the lungs and thereby keep them in a fluid state, which has its effect upon the whole *massa sanguinis* and causes it to become viscid. (2) The sudden and frequent changes in the weather, since frequently it is exceptionally hot during one half of the day and exceptionally cold the other half, owing to wind and rain, cause *obstructions in the viae secretionis* and increase the viscosity. (3) The inhabitants of this country subsist mostly on such foods as contain much viscous fluid and make the blood thick and cohesive. (4) In the middle of August the nights are cold; the days, however,

⁸ From The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (Philadelphia, 1942), Vol. I, pp. 178-79.

ordinarily remain very hot until October. As long as the nights here remain warm and the days are warm, too, nature is able to expel the coarse material as well as the *subtile* material through the *pores*; but when the cold nights set in and the days continue hot, the *laxatio partium solidarum* and *tenacitas sanguinis* occasioned by the heat, and the *constrictio pororum* occasioned by the cold, cause the material of perspiration to be not sufficiently broken up and expelled through the *pori cuticulares*. The finest, volatile parts, it is true, go through the constricted passages, but the coarsest remain, etc. etc. (5) Then when a sharp, winter air comes, the blood gradually coagulates and causes stagnation in the arteries of the lungs and occasionally also in the *pleura*, mostly, however, in the lungs, which are spongy and soft, and the sharp air is more apt to hasten the coagulation in their vesicles and blood vessels.

On the surface at least, this is quite obviously a statement of fact and not mere supposition or tentative theory. Having conclusively—to his own mind at least—established a rational basis for the disorder—there was nothing left for the physician to do but apply the current, indicated remedy. What if the patient failed to respond? The flaw then lay in the prescription or some other unforeseen circumstance and not in the diagnosis. But the scientific method calls for rational experimentation and a careful observation of developments apart from theories. Science moves from doubt into fact and not from knowledge into ignorance. The English physician's theory severely restricted the area for experimentation and beyond numerous bleedings to thin out the coagulated blood, he had little more to offer.

Wagner's more cautious observations on the same epidemic provide a sharp contrast to the dogmatic approach of his English colleague.

“Anno 1748 in January, February, March and April, yes even into May, a very dangerous pleurisy became wide-

spread. In the beginning, it was for the most part confined to an area across the Schuylkill, but it eventually spread into other regions and a great many people died of it.

The contagion overcame them suddenly, beginning with a rather strong chill or, on occasion, with only a slight shivering. This was quite generally followed by fever and severe stabs of pain in the left or right side. Several people did not experience stabs but felt rather an oppression and a very pronounced shortness of breath over the chest. Nevertheless it was apparently a form of the same affliction.

The stabs of pain followed respiration quite regularly and several people were so violently seized that they were unable to speak. Others became afflicted in the head so severely that they experienced phantasies and distressing headaches, backaches, etc.

Many died in five days, or else in eight or nine days, while some even died in two days, and the illness was often subject to change, even among those who had improved enough to be about, so that they became seriously ill again.

The phlegm was moderately colored and viscid, somewhat sandy under the glass (microscope) and quite cloudy, much like wind-driven clouds, with small, half-muddy circles. When it was deep yellow-red and viscid, with a dark, cloudy matter, the patient was very sick and usually died.

Those who could soon clear out the congestion in their chests and those with the pains in the right side quite often recovered”.

It is immediately apparent that Wagner was concerned with the “how” and not the “why”. Over a century before, Francis Bacon had defined the proper attitude for scientific advancement in these words: “Now if a man will begin with certainties, he shall end in

doubts; but if he will be content to begin in doubts he shall end in certainties". Wagner was still a long way removed from certainties, but his observations were curiously exempt from the blindness promoted by theory. It was the general consensus of professional opinion that the answer to the pleurisy enigma was to be found in the blood. While Wagner did not deny the validity of this idea, he was apparently off on a slightly different tangent, and his investigations were primarily concerned with the expectoration or phlegm. While the presence of blood in the phlegm was taken as proof of the coagulated blood principle by the theorists, Wagner felt that the phlegm itself might contain the infective agent. This mental set permitted a much wider latitude in the application of treatments and was conducive to the exercise of a "trial and error" method. Now a treatment based on the principle of "trial and error" could admittedly provide some uncomfortable moments for the patient, but it was infinitely more desirable than all error. It further discouraged the opinion that this or that remedy actually cured, and contributed to the concept that any prescription, at best, was merely an aid to recovery.

Here is Wagner's recuperative program, based on his own findings:

In the treatment I have found the following things helpful: First, because of the congestion and ebullition in the blood, I prescribed the Halle bezoar-powder either alone or mixed with my bezoar-powder or the *edelstein* powder.

(For the sanguine and those people accustomed to blood-letting, I have permitted a mild letting in the beginning, which appeared to do no harm, especially when a vein on the foot was opened. Another practitioner in Oley noticed the same thing. But after the second day of onset I no longer permitted it, since the blood soon became sluggish, as the best blood had been taken away. Many English doctors re-

peated the same thing—indeed, two, three and many more times—but the patient died anyway).

When the congestion in the blood had been somewhat abated I found that my bezoar-powder or the *edelstein* powder,⁹ either one alone would induce a perspiration; or it could be brought about with *arcanum duplicato* (sulphate of potassa) or an essence of *alexipharm*¹⁰ either alone or diluted with four parts of spirit of sulfur.

Following this, in order to encourage expectoration, 2 scruples of my *pulvis expectorans*, a dose every 3 or 4 hours.

For external application, the spirit from Halle rubbed on the area of pain or spread on warm cloths and applied is good. Small poultices made by placing a handful of wheat bran and half a handful of . . . salt in a small sack, made warm and applied has done much good.

An emetic of ipecacuanha (one ounce) or of Potassium tartrate has been useful in the beginning stages. Also a cathartic made with sulfate of soda may relieve some of the congestion.

Those who complain of frequent chills and shiverings have been aided by heavy perspiration induced by a diapho-

⁹ Precious stones played a less important role in medical history than precious metals, principally because their crystallized state made any rendering quite difficult, if not impossible. Nevertheless, constituent substances from garnets, hyacinths, sapphires, carnelians and emeralds were tested for healing and strengthening properties. The elements of Wagner's "jewel" powder are not known and it seems probable that it may have been a term dictated by the appearance of the powder and not its content, for the efficacy of "jewel" treatments had been labeled as pure superstition before the turn of the seventeenth century.

¹⁰ The word *alexipharm* is derived from the Greek phrase, "I dispel the poison"; hence it was used as a general term for antidotes. Wagner's essence of alexipharm contained these ingredients: angelica, camphor, masterwort, anise, snakeroot and bezoar powder. The active agent in this concoction was the herb masterwort (*imperatoria ostruthium*), indigenous to Southern Europe and used with so much supposed success as a diuretic, diaphoretic and alexipharmic that it was dubbed the "divine remedy". It eventually fell into disuse and the name was applied to a plant in this country.

retic compounded of *chclac cancrorum* citrates or the *edelstein* powder.

A mixture of *tartarus* (one ounce) and spirits of ammonia helped alleviate the severe stabs of pain in the beginning where the Halle bezoar powders didn't seem to have an effect.

One female patient had a very high fever with a congested chest: I gave her a moderate dose of the Halle and bezoar powders with a cooling syrup. She improved somewhat, but then she afterwards was afflicted with a strong pressing pain on the chest and the back. It was so severe that she felt she would die. Then I gave her the tartar-ammonia mixture in equal parts and she soon improved. She drank a great amount of warm sage tea (which produced a fine perspiration) and she became completely well again.

Certainly the most refreshing aspect of Wagner's curriculum was the playing down of the therapeutic value of bloodletting. Fifty years later, the outstanding figure in the medical world, Dr. William Cullen of Edinburgh stubbornly affirmed that "venesection is the remedy chiefly to be depended on . . . and the quantity to be taken away ought in general to be as large as the patient's strength will allow". Unfortunately, one bleeding never cured pleurisy, so the course was repeated the same day if the patient appeared weaker, and each subsequent bleeding was to be larger than the previous one and "when a large quantity of blood hath been taken from the arm, and it is doubtful if more can be taken in that manner with safety, some blood may still be taken by cupping and scarifying". This latter step was apparently indicated by a theory that various parts of the body had their own independent blood supply. However, it was probably more merciful to be bled to death than to be carried off by a violent consumption. Wagner's objection to bleeding, based on the shaky conclusion that it merely drained off the "best" blood, while it may

appear naive in retrospect, must stand forth as an unusually progressive concept.

The remainder of his treatment, however, still called for a considerable amount of heroism on the part of the patient. Evil times fell upon the highly esteemed bezoar powder since the imports from Peru and the Indies could not possibly meet the demand. Gallstones removed from goats became an ersatz supply of bezoar and the market was so lively that a voluminous counterfeit trade developed on the Continent. Not until the turn of the century did the use of bezoar powder fall into merited neglect. For his own *pulvis expectorans*, Wagner employed an oil from the cranial cavities of the sperm whale and a cordial distilled from the bark of a tree native to the West Indies. While this concoction was long on imagination, modern science has demonstrated that it fell short in virtue. Cathartics, diuretics and emetics were standard procedure for all grave afflictions and to be doubly certain that no poisons remained in the body, perspiration inducing compounds were also administered. Thus, the hapless patient who suffered with dysentery was given a healthy laxative for his troubles. Wagner developed at least five different purgative formulas of varying potency, several of which must have been bone-rattling. He noted that his "mild" purgative taken undiluted "by a certain person only worked seven times and without any distress". But the settlers were a hardy bunch and this gentleman in particular "would have liked it to be stronger". The literal implications in the term "Doctor of Physick" have, happily, largely disappeared and purgatives, in most cases, are no longer symbols of ignorance.

Superstition and imagination have always played a large part in the history of medicine and special healing properties have been attributed to practically every substance that can be applied onto or introduced into the human body. Without crawling too far out on a limb, it could be fairly stated that drug medicines constituted eighty percent of any physician's stock in trade during the eighteenth cen-

tury. Exotic substances were imported at Philadelphia from every known part of the earth and any large store in the city could supply hundreds of strange and remarkable materials. Aside from purely humanitarian interests, it was an enormously profitable commercial enterprise. Wagner operated a small apothecary shop in conjunction with his business and for many years he employed his brother, Melchior, as an assistant. This universal drug addiction resulted in a kind of "cook-book" medicine and it took years and years to determine whether or not any given recipe had merit. There were too many variables involved and opportunities to conduct controlled experiments just didn't exist.

Wagner described the female pleurisy patient who failed to respond to the bezoar powders, but she did recover after his tartar-ammonia draught was administered. In his own mind, this amounted to tentative, if not conclusive, proof that the tartar-ammonia routine had cured the patient. Would she have gotten well without it? These were questions that may have plagued many an eighteenth century physician, but how could conclusive proof be had? The answer certainly did not lie in *not* administering the recipe.

It would be impossible to compute the amount of needless suffering brought about in this process and yet, the frontiers of medical thought were immeasurably extended by this kind of tinkering. It was the only positive way to proceed from the unknown to the known, and while it is extremely doubtful that Wagner made any substantial contributions to medicine in this respect, it can be said he was far from dogmatic—and this is a virtue becoming to physicians in any age.

The business of arranging and classifying the various diseases which beleaguer humankind has been carried on for centuries under the rather unimaginative label "methodical nosology". Nosology was in a rather wretched state during the seventeenth century due to the fact that physicians called the same disease by different names or lumped any number of similar symptoms under the same general

title. The drive toward a rational, standardized system had its inception around the turn of the century when attempts were made to catalog diseases as botanists had done plants, into classes, orders, genera and species. The movement might have been effectual had there not been considerable difference of opinion in selecting the most practical framework. Sir Charles Linnaeus, whose major contributions were made in the field of botany, listed eleven major classes of affliction.

In his system pleurisy was found under class III—*Phogistici*—infectious diseases affecting only one part or organ of the body. By the end of the century, Dr. Cullen had reduced the number of classes to four:

- I. Pyrexiae—the febrile (fever) diseases.
- II. Neurosis—an injury of the sense and motion.
- III. Cachexiae—a depraved habit of the whole or greatest part of the body.
- IV. Locales—an affection of some part, but not of the whole body.

Cullen placed pleurisy under class I, Order II (Phlegmasiae), Genus XI (Pneumonia), Species II (Pleuritis).

There was much merit in this system, but as the nosologists warmed up to their subject the breakdown became too complex and involved to be of much practical value for the general practitioner. Printed nosologies listing a thousand or more supposed afflictions and their distinguishing symptoms were circulated in the medical world, and it wasn't long before a strong counter-reaction to this complexity arose. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia almost succeeded in reversing the trend when he announced, late in the eighteenth century, his conviction that there was actually only one grand affliction after all and the weird and various things that happened to the body were merely manifestations of a simple blood disorder.

The basic concern through all of this was the symptom and not

the cause. Today the order has been reversed and medical science—including nosology—begins with the cause and then suggests possible symptoms.

There was an intermediate stage in this development which cut across the lines of traditional nosology and paved the way for the modern approach. It related specific disorders to specific sections of the anatomy, setting up individual fields of inquiry—a rather simple ancestor of specialization. Wagner set up his own nosology along these lines as early as 1740. It contained nine classes in the following order.

Class I. of the sicknesses of the head and mind.

Class II. of the sicknesses and afflictions of the chest.

Class III. of the sicknesses of the stomach and intestines.

Class IV. (missing from manuscript)

Class V. of the sicknesses of the bladder.

Class VI. of the fevers.

Class VII. Afflictions to the limbs—especially those which have external symptoms.

Class VIII. Sicknesses peculiar to women.

Class IX. Afflictions and illnesses that occur to small children.

Pleurisy was thus catalogued under class II, sicknesses of the chest, reflecting a logic of such simplicity that it is difficult to realize that other alignments could have been put forward.

There isn't any reason to assume that Wagner's classification was a unique synthesis of thought placing him along the frontier of medical progress, but it illustrates that he was on his way out of the nosological woods a long time before many of the acknowledged leaders in the profession suspected that they were lost. In order to become a pioneer or leader in any given field, it is necessary that the individual be in a position to make his ideas and thoughts effective. The only acceptable agent of communication in Wagner's lifetime was the Pennsylvania Hospital and while he developed a relationship

with the administration as early as 1754, the medical faculty did not become influential until after his death.

In the fall of 1740, Wagner assembled the bulk of helpful knowledge he had acquired in a small manuscript volume designated *Remediorum Specimina ex Praxi A.W.* In this "specimen book of remedies from the practice of Abraham Wagner" the author kept a running account, in German, of the common ailments encountered among his clientele and some pertinent observations on the prescribed remedies. This little booklet became a "catch-all" for odds and ends of information which the good doctor did not care to trust to memory alone. Thus, in a sense, we are indebted to his forgetfulness for a rather uneven, but quite vivid depiction of the state of applied medicine in the mid-eighteenth century.

A few excerpts, omitting most of the numerous chemical formulas, suggest the healing pattern.

CLASS I. SICKNESS OF THE HEAD AND MIND.

A. PAROXYSMS

When the head is feverish and there is evident pain, the welling up of overheated blood may be at fault. In this case a moderating, cooling and precipitating powder is useful: *tartarum*, *nitrum depurato* and prepared oyster shell or coral, or hartshorn.

This is sure to quiet the welling blood and moderate the pain. Where powder cannot easily be employed, one can use a liquor containing foliated earth of tartar. One must be quite careful that the body does not become costive, that it does not develop an internal congestion—a great deal of liquid, be it cool or warm, should be consumed. The English salt is not bad and rhabarbarin doesn't hurt either.

In general practice, many recommend bloodletting, but this should not be done while the paroxysm takes place. Meanwhile, one can use *spiritum vini camphoratum*, a few drops applied to a

linen cloth and bound on the forehead. This can be repeated every two hours as long as necessary. Several drops can also be poured on top of the head.

B. FEEBLEMINDEDNESS AND DEBILITY

When the head and the mind become weak, and not especially in old people, but also from exhaustion and rigorous activity or from sickness, so, next to rest, *nervina* or nerve strengthening remedies are of some service. Apoplectic-water, apoplectic-balsam, *lebens-balsam*—smeared on the pulse, and temples . . . or poured on the crown of the head. In this manner the so-called “vital spirits” will be somewhat quickened and the nature will be encouraged. These things are also of use when the nature is extremely weak and lacking in strength. Other things can also be used to quicken and cheer the spirit, such as wine, brandy, *essentiae aromatica*, *lebens pulver*, etc.

C. MELANCHOLIA

In a melancholy disposition (from a stagnation and congestion of the blood), when the patient is gloomy, goes about morosely and doesn't talk or speak, the following things have done some good:

1. a strong emetic of *antimonio*
2. bleeding from a vein in the foot
3. an internal dose of salt spirits
4. an external application of *spiritum discutientia*¹¹ on the forehead and the pate
5. a warm foot bath.

When this condition is caused by congested and rising blood, the patient must by all means . . . have company. Bodily exercise,

¹¹ A formula developed at Halle for the resolution of fevers. The principal element was *antimonium diaphoreticum*, which was soon abandoned in practice because of its weak and inconstant nature.

riding or driving is helpful. One must be particularly careful all times that the body does not become costive.

D. LUNACY AND MANIA

Some relief has been afforded by:

1. opening a vein and drawing off an abundant quantity—repeated several times
2. a vomitory made from *antimonio*—as strong as the nature will permit without danger
3. Nitrum powder—15 grains
gum camphor—4 grains
1 dose
or 3 parts nitrum to 1 part camphor every two hours.
This was prescribed by A. Meyer

E. APOPLEXY

To return the patient to consciousness:

1. strong smelling spirits
2. a diuretic
3. opening a vein in the arm
4. sharp clisters and also an emetic if the patient can still swallow. Frequent doses of “apoplexy water” and sugar.

F. EPILEPSY

G. THE EYES

H. THE EARS

For a pain in the ear—otalgia. When the pain has not endured very long, 4 drops of the *spiritus discutientia* from Halle can be dropped in two or three times a day. One can periodically rub some of this behind the ear from time to time.

Patients that are hard of hearing—several doses of catar-

rhial pills or my mixture can be poured in the ears two or three times a day.

For ringing in the ears:

Prescription—pour a little brandy or cooked olive oil into the ear and retain it for awhile—this stops the ringing.

I. THE TEETH

For unclean teeth:

A good tooth powder used once a week will be of help—or perhaps only once every two weeks, but along with this the mouth should be rinsed daily after eating with fresh water and scoured vigorously with a finger.

The tooth powder should not be composed of ail rough or all sharp things such as tobacco ashes, powdered coral, pumice stone or brick, but should also contain smooth things such as prepared oyster shell, chalk made from mussels, with a lot of seasoning and flavoring. Dr. Leister uses vitriolic spirits . . . but Dr. Stahl adds salt spirits to water and recommends that it be worked out of the mouth, which is indeed quite necessary or else it will assault . . . the teeth.

Another practitioner recommends burned hartshorn, powdered oyster shell . . . and white tartar. George Hauptmann prescribed that the teeth should be washed off after eating with a solution made of *sal ammoniac* and water. I have used the following in practice: cream of tartar, gum myrrh and oil of cloves.

For a growth on the gum up behind the foreteeth:

A certain man once showed me a growth on his gums which was up behind the front teeth. It was as big as a chestnut, quite hard and dry to the touch and a different color than the surrounding skin, and was several weeks old. I directed him to cook myrtle leaves in milk and contain the solution in his mouth. He did this and the growth quickly disappeared. This was in March, 1752.

J. THE THROAT

Elongation of the glottis.

When this affliction is recent and is caused by an inflammation that develops redness, fever and pain, then cooling and dissolving gargles are necessary. . . .

When this evil is caused by catching cold, then the glottis is whitish, without burning and fever; in this event it would be good to gargle with warm brandy or an astringent concoction or to apply a mixture of dissipating powders and honey. . . .

CLASS II. SICKNESSES AND AFFLICTIONS OF THE CHEST

A. THE DRY COUGH

When the dry cough is caused by a congestion of the blood laying siege to the chest, then the moderate perspiration inducing compounds are helpful, for example the Halle bezoar powder; mild laxative, also a foot bath, as well as bleeding.

B. A COUGH WITH EXPECTORATION

Balsam of sulphur . . . when taken with a little sugar has done some good. When one takes cold, so that coughing and a running of the nose are perceptive, some relief has been afforded in the beginning by placing Balsam of Gilead on the tongue and slowly swallowing it. Several people have also recommended *balsam capiri*.

C. DRY ASTHMA

If the patient is asthmatic without expectoration.

When this is caused by a sharp, piercing wind and catching cold, then the perspiration inducing drugs are helpful. The volatile spirits and salts will not be of much use when the nature of the asthma is dry. However, they can be used with some benefi-

De Liquoribus.

Liquor capivi.

℞. Sapon. castilei ℥i. Longip. 3℞.

Spice. vini rectif. 7℞. 3℞.

℞. Alkali. 3℞. 7. 3℞.

℞. 4. 6℞.

℞. Liquor emeticus 7℞.

℞. 4. 6℞. 3℞.

℞. 4. 6℞. 3℞.

℞. 4. 6℞.

℞. 4. 6℞. 3℞.

Liquor carbonis. aqua. 3℞.

℞. 4. 6℞. 3℞.

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De Spiritibus.

Spiritus. 7℞. 3℞.

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cent results if the asthma is moist and the patient has a phlegmatic nature.

A certain physician gave several people a volatile salt, whereupon they began to spit blood, which they had done before, yet it continued for a much longer period.

D. *MOIST ASTHMA*

When coughing produces much phlegm, the "incidentia"¹² and "resolventia" are helpful, such as Martin John's "chest-drink".

E. *PLEURISY*

F. *CONSUMPTION*

CLASS III. SICKNESSES OF THE STOMACH AND INTESTINES

A. *CLOGGING OF THE STOMACH*

When the stomach is clogged one must first determine whether the stomach is chilled or too hot; or whether foulness has hindered digestion; whether there is too much acid or too much alkali? If one doesn't make an examination and find out, then the prescriptions which are good and excellent will be applied in vain, unless one makes the correct diagnosis.

B. *WHEN THE STOMACH HAS CAUGHT COLD*

When the stomach catches cold, from uncooked, indigestible foods, such as cucumbers, raw fruit—apples, peaches and the like, which often happens to weak and tender people, even though they don't eat much of it; pain and pressure in the stomach follows, shortness of breath and oppression on the chest, pains in the back between the shoulder blades and a great deal of distress in the lower abdomen . . . Even though this condition is serious

¹² Medical prescriptions that "encourage the juices to flow".

enough in itself, it can also cause grievous and dangerous complications, such as dropsy and tumors, when there is negligence in regulating the diet.

If the stomach suffers from overloading and indigestion, then the digestive salts, emetics or purgatives provide the best relief and they should be followed by warming remedies . . . such as wine, brandy, "stomach water", Martin John's "life powder", *elixir proprietatis*,¹³ *aromatic essence* or *aqua mentha*.

C. OBSTRUCTION OF THE BOWELS

Costiveness can be caused by many various factors and in seeking the cure, it is necessary to reflect on them. When it is caused by a large indigestible mass, a liquid laxative and digestive salts are indicated, so that the mass will be dissipated—in this case the laxative potions should be taken one after another, if the pain is severe. Purgative pills and powders (*elixir salutis*), may also help—and any cordial beverage such as small beer, tea, coffee, *aqua fortis* and warm broths will help to make the body moist so that a small obstruction will be dissipated. In eating, however, the patient must be quite sparing and wary.

In the event that the costiveness is caused by an excess amount of congested blood, which will usually be indicated by fever and headache, one of the moderating powders should be prescribed—*tartarum vitriolatum*, *arcano duplicato* and prepared oyster shell mixed with salpeter—a fluid-drachm in the morning and the evening.

If the indigestion is caused by a cold, one should seek to warm the body, externally with warm coverings and blankets, in-

¹³ An elixir directed toward increasing the "filtration" of the liquids and the solids. Theophrastus von Hohenheim, better known as Paracelsus, a Swiss mystic developed the initial formula early in the sixteenth century. At least two dozen modifications are extant. Wagner used aloes, antimonial wine, gum myrrh and saffron. The last item was eventually dropped from the elixir because of expense, but the basic formula was still in use during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

ternally with warm drinks—broths and the *elixir proprietatis* in wine or any other warm drink.

D. COLIC

There are several kinds of colic which must be taken into consideration if they are to be cured, because there are many causes and many remedies.

In the case of *colica flatulenta*, resulting from a cold, the body should be warmed with blankets and stones, a strong dose of *elixir proprietatis* is indicated . . . or Martin John's "lebens pulver", mixed in wine.

In the case of *colica pituitosa*, resulting from a corruption in the stomach or intestines . . . the bitter digestive salts and . . . purgatives are helpful.

In the case of *colica biliosa*, warm drinks such as barley broth, chicken broth, etc.—the polychrest elixir from Halle or a mixture of *nitrum depuratum* and *arcano duplicato*.

In colic caused by congested blood, the same powders used for *colica biliosa* are good. Clysters or warm cloths sprinkled with spirits of camphor can be applied to the body.

When the colic develops from a rupture, then the balsam pills are helpful in reducing the internal swelling. Externally, the rupture must be carefully examined so the intestines do not become blocked . . . and a good truss or suspensory must be worn.

E. DYSENTERY

Observations made in 1745.

As soon as one first perceives its onset—or later for that matter—a mild purgative will be good—either Glauber's salt or rhabarbarin powder . . . or Dr. Becher's pills one or two times a day if they help.

After the purgative, the following powders will help the patient: an ounce of cascarill, C. C. "philosophie" and corallium.

The dose: one scruple in warm broth or balsam tea every three, four or five hours. A grain of opium can be added to each drachm . . . when there is no accompanying fever and the dysentery is not yet of long duration. If it is accompanied by a fever one can give the Halle bezoar powder and *cortex cascarilla* mixed in equal quantities; should be taken in the afternoon. In the morning one can administer essence of alexipharin or elixir of balsam. The polychrest pills are very good if there is no fever—in the morning, and in the afternoon the *cortex cascarilla*.

If there are severe pains, a potion of gum arabic, *aqua menthae* and cinnamon, one spoonful every two hours will ease the body. George Hauptmann's gold pills or an anodyne sedative can be helpful. For "tenesmus" there are several pills and many people drink warm olive oil. Apoplectic water rubbed on the stomach and heart, or Dr. Hoffman's "life balsam" or a stomach plaster will give relief. In practice I have used Dr. Johann Agricola's plaster: *theriac andromeda*, etc. spread on leather and laid on the navel.

If the dysentery is attended with a great deal of vomiting, I have found the following prescription to be quite good: an ounce of *tartar vitriolum* and several drops of distilled oil of mace taken in balsam tea, two doses an hour apart. The Halle digestive powder can also be taken with oil of mace and an emetic of ipecacuanha can be taken judiciously.

If severe chest pains are caused by the sickness, the following has been helpful: Theriac, powdered gum myrrh, cinnamon and the laudanum opiate—a teaspoonful every two or three hours.

F. "DARMGICHT"

It is a wretched and dangerous condition which accompanies *colica biliosa* or serious bowel obstructions and is caused by poor digestion, taking cold or gall disturbances. The patient has very severe bowel cramps and cannot retain any nourishment.

In practice, God be praised, I have often found the following methods to be of some help.

1. Two or three doses of my emetic powder every hour, mixed in balsam tea—this checks the vomiting: *arcano duplicatum*, landanum opiate and oil of cinnamon.

2. A laxative of Glauber's salts or *elixir salutis*.

3. Following the laxative, cream of tartar, either alone or with powder of jalop, mixed with caryophyll oil.

4. *Elixir proprietatis*: several people have applied a clyster of tobacco smoke¹⁴ for this sickness and have noted good results.

5. Thin broths and warm, thin beverages are helpful in the cure, also light eating, but it is advisable to be wary in using cold or strong beverages.

A certain woman who was afflicted with this sickness for a long time, with many relapses, had me summoned, because at the time she had not had a bowel movement for six days. I made her a clyster of marjoram, myrtle leaves, two pounds boiled in water, olive oil, etc. for an encina because it was all I had at hand. I directed her to use them and that same night she was relieved . . . Also gave her cream of tartar because she had a fever. She recovered finally.

G. WORMS

CLASS V. SICKNESSES OF THE BLADDER AND RELATED PARTS OF THE BODY

A. A STOPPAGE OF URINE

When this condition appears, along with a high fever or dysentery, *nitrum depuratum* with prepared oyster shell or *testa ovarum* mixed with tea has been of help. When there is external

¹⁴ The use of tobacco smoke as an internal vapor was first demonstrated by Dr. Johann Stiffer of Hamburg circa 1685, a rather curious application to say the least.



swelling, . . . warm compresses of mallow leaves cooked in milk can be applied or also boiled onions can be laid thereon.

B. *BLOOD IN THE URINE*

The cause of this condition is a stoppage or constriction in the urinary duct. In order to cure it, moderating and blood "quieting" procedures are indicated, along with a mild laxative. When the blood has grown less or ceased, mild astringents or opiates are helpful.

C. *STONES IN THE BLADDER AND KIDNEYS*

D. *HEMORRHOIDS*

CLASS VI. THE FEVERS

1. Intermittent Fever

Whether it be the 1, 2 or 3 day kind of intermittent fever, the first things to be used are the digestive salts so the uncleanness and obstructions in the stomach can be dissipated. Meanwhile a good emetic is helpful and necessary . . . as well as a good purgative . . . and for the fever we can administer every 2 hours a moderating powder or vitriolic spirits . . . and when the fever is gone one gives something that will induce perspiration.

2. Infectious Fever

3. Consumptive Fever

(The remainder of this section is missing from the manuscript).

CLASS VII. AFFLICTIONS TO THE LIMBS

(Especially those which have external symptoms)

A. *ARTHRITIS*

Consists of heavy, tearing, pulling and straining pains in the muscles and limbs—has sometimes been called cramps—and

can be divided into two categories: the common gout which is generally confined to one spot or the spreading gout which goes from one place to another.

It generally seizes fullblooded people where the ordinary flow of blood is retarded or the accustomed bloodletting . . . has been overdone and at the same time there was external chilling following heavy exercise or an overheated condition.

In the cure, one must use digestives, moderatives and purgatives.

B. *THE HIP GOUT*

The Halle bezoar powder is good and can be given at night with some laudanum opiate, followed by some laxative herb wine; the *liquor sucrinatus* has been found to help. . . .

C. *THE ITCH*

For the itch, the following things are helpful internally:

1. mild purgative
2. cleansing and "dislodging" remedies such as balsam of sulphur or sublimed sulphur
3. a drink of sassafras, sassaparill roots and oil.

Externally, the mercurialia are helpful.

D. *RHEUMATISM*

Rheumatism is a species of arthritis which attacks the muscular parts whereas arthritis also seizes the joints and other connecting parts.

Against rheumatism, the following was of marvelous assistance to a man who had been quite miserable for four or five months—July 18, 1745.

Tincture: tartrate of antimony: one ounce, oil of anthos: one ounce.

Dose: 30 drops, morning and afternoon in tea.

Item-Essence: *sulphuris theophor.*

Evening, about 40 drops in tea made from hyssop or marjoram.

On the ninth of August they called for this doctor again, whereupon he was fully recovered, much to the amazement of many people.

E. SWOLLEN WOUNDS

If the new skin grows too fast, bind the wound dry without a wound balsam or salve: or one can wash the wound with diluted brandy.

F. INFECTED WOUNDS

Infected wounds caused by mad dogs, snakes or scorpions shall immediately be washed with salt water or vinegar with theriaca¹⁵—and quite often.

G. BROKEN BONES

Here one must attempt to reduce the swelling and inflammation through the application of warm compresses, spirits of camphor, etc. and as soon as possible, the bone should attempt to be set by an intelligent chirurgion.

H. LAMENESS AND SHRINKING OF THE LIMBS

This often follows a broken bone, therefore strong, penetrating spirits should be rubbed into the limb.

I. HOT SWELLINGS FROM INFLAMMATIONS

The hot swellings and external infections come from a congestion of the blood occasioned by external and internal causes.

¹⁵ A complicated opium confection.

One must attempt to resolve and dissipate this or suppurations . . . will result or even the "hot or cold fire" (gangrene) will develop.

There are also external causes, such as something unnatural entering into the skin or when an injury is bound too tightly or a break is not properly set: so these causes must first be discovered.

J. FROZEN LIMBS

In the first place it is very good if the feet or hands are immediately placed in cold water or snow, this will draw out the frost. Following this rub the limb with camphor spirits. Item: oil of tartar is also good rubbed on the frozen limb.

However, if the member has broken open, one has to use a healing plaster such as "froschleich" plaster ¹⁶ or digestive salves and wound balsams.

Internally, one gives warm wine or something which will induce perspiration.

K. BURNS

If the skin has not been ruptured, one should immediately apply spirits of camphor. Blisters should be pierced to permit the fluid to drain out because it eats away the skin underneath. The burn salve should be applied as often as the burned area dries. If the patient has to lie on the region, olive oil should be put on the bed clothes.

Oftentimes when the burn was severe and the fright was great, it is necessary to prescribe something internal—especially for children who often get colic—the bezoar powder or my moderating powder, or sweet spirits of nitre. . . .

However, if the burn is deep, so there are deep openings, one must use a moist plaster—the frog-spawn plaster is good or the *emplastrum miraculosum*.

¹⁶ A plaster made from the spawn of frogs.

L. DRY GANGRENE AND MOIST GANGRENE

The dry gangrene can be identified when there is a pronounced, violent inflammation, with suppuration . . . but when the hard swelling becomes soft and flat so that it will depress when probed with the fingers, when the pain has reduced, when the red color becomes pale or streaked with lead colored, or blue . . . and the fluid becomes yellow and red, then in this case the moist gangrene has developed in place of the dry.

It is necessary to regain the patient's strength through heavy eating and drinking and remedies. Meanwhile the inflammation must be scarified and warm dissipating potions and compresses must constantly be applied . . . on folded cloths or flannel. The leaves of *scordium absinthium* cooked alone in salt water or vinegar makes an excellent poultice.

M. TUMORS

A tumor is a hard and painful swelling that can occur in any part of the body, but especially in the upper. If the tumor is quite old, one can attempt to resolve it by using dissipating medicants but when the patient is unhealthy or elderly, it is better to leave such things alone because they are likely to become inflamed and in many cases they turn cancerous.

CLASS VIII. SICKNESSES PECULIAR TO WOMEN

A. CESSATION OF MENSES

This condition causes many kinds of grief and distress, none of which will be eased unless a cure is effected, such as stomach pains, shortness of breath, headaches, toothaches, melancholia, convulsions, consumption, etc.

Causes are an overabundance of blood and thickened blood, fright, horror, unhealthy foods, chilling of the body and the feet

and legs, prolonged cold water baths, going around in cold and dampness with bare feet, etc.

In the cure one must attempt to purify and thin the blood in order to make it flow; get rid of the cause and establish a nourishing diet and a well-ordered life.

The first can be accomplished by bitter digestive salts . . . and through laxative medicaments . . . which will prepare the body. After this, at the time when menses is to occur, one gives *elixir proprietatis*, *elixir uterin*, essence of myrrh, etc. Warm foot-baths are helpful to draw down the blood and letting a vein in the foot during the beginning of the treatment will be helpful.

B. VOMITING DURING PREGNANCY

A small sack filled with allspice and balsam, warmed, moistened with wine and laid on the stomach or *essentia aromatica* taken in tea or wine. Opening a vein is often good.

C. FRIGHT AND TREMBLING DURING PREGNANCY

The *edelstein* powder, several doses of a powder of *corallium rubra*, *tartar vitriola* mixed with *nitrum depurato*. Immediately after the fright it is good if a diuretic and laxative are given.

D. COUGHING PAINS DURING PREGNANCY

If the pain is not caused by the weight in the uterus, then an application of my *mixtura discutientia externa* will soon bring relief.

E. DEATH OF THE FOETUS IN THE UTERUS

If a pregnant woman or a woman in labor has not for some time noticed any movement on the part of the child, beyond what feels like a heavy pressure that falls on the same side to which the mother turns, when she feels sudden chills and trembling, when

she becomes unconscious, experiences terror without cause, notices a pressure on her back, when the appearance and color of her lips is pale and wan, the breasts become soft and flabby, the lower part of the abdomen as well as the hands and feet become cold. . . .

If the foetus remains in the uterus without labor pains . . . the dead child can remain in the mother for many weeks without any evil effects. In this case it is best to wait and let nature itself complete the abortion rather than to remove it through medicaments or force it out by hand. If however, the water has broken . . . one must attempt to remove the foetus in order to save the mother. The strongest medicaments have never been successful.

F. TO INDUCE PARTURITION

G. TO REDUCE MELANCHOLIA FOLLOWING PARTURITION

H. SEVERE LABOR PAINS

I. CESSATION OF LABOR PAINS PRIOR TO PARTURITION

In this case the polychrest pills are helpful, several of them taken right after each other. They have begun again after taking the following powder: 3 ounces of Abraham Wagner's *alexipharm*, an ounce of cream of tartar, etc.

J. CHAPPED BREASTS

An unguent of *rosatum pomadin* or *oleum ovorum* has often helped.

CLASS IX. AFFLICTIONS AND ILLNESSES THAT OCCUR TO SMALL CHILDREN

A. PROLONGED CRYING OF INFANTS

It is best that one gives them something laxative which will remove the mucus from the body that causes the pain and in this

connection the *syrupus solutinus de tribus* may be given to them in the first 24 hours . . . a teaspoonful every four hours or four times a day. If they are somewhat older and have a stronger nature, one can give them some *pulver cathartica* . . . meanwhile they will be helped with George Hauptmann's golden pills—a six week infant, half a gram, a child of three or four months, a whole gram. . . .

B. SKIN ERUPTIONS OF INFANTS

Venetian borax dissolved in rose water.

C. FEVERS

When they show the first signs of shivering it is good to give them the Halle digestive powder and the bezoar powder . . . for the fever. If necessary, one can give them a mild purgative. The venerable Melchior Heebner prescribed the tincture of tartar for infant fevers, which I also found helpful.

D. EPILEPSY

If the child or patient is quite restless and the pustules do not want to break out, the following was often of use: *alexipharm* powder (A. W.), Halle bezoar powder, equal parts of each, a dose every three hours; this soon brought them out. I have given small children the golden heart powder which my beloved great-grandfather George Hauptmann, as well as the beloved Melchior Heebner found especially good when the convulsions began.

E. ERYSIPELAS

Children can also get erysipelas if they catch cold and perspiration is blocked. In this case they became sickly, feverish and break out with red swellings at certain places, which become hard . . . erysipelas powder has helped externally and internally something dissipating, followed by a purgative.

F. CONVULSIONS

This condition has different causes since many times it comes from difficult teething which the nature cannot tolerate or there is fever. One must investigate the cause and treat the same.

If teething is at fault, then one has to help them break through the gum at the correct place. . . .

I have given *tartar vitriolum*, Melchior Heebner's epileptic powder and cathartic powder. I gave this several times to an 8 week old child who had already suffered convulsions for several weeks, finally 10, 12 or 14 fits per day. Yes, the last day it had 17. Following this remedy, the next day it had 9 and the following day, 5; furthermore it had only 2 the next day and in the following 2 weeks no more than several weak convulsions, whereupon I gave him some more of above. . . .



At this point it would almost seem more pertinent to ask how many lives Wagner and his colleagues succeeded in shortening rather than to reflect on how many patients they managed to cure. Virtually every treatment must have had an enervating effect on the patient, and beyond the inherent psychological lift on being "doctored", in the final analysis the body had to rid itself of the disordering agent. But reprobation and cynicism serves only to hide the fact that if medicine had not been practiced, controlling and helpful procedures could not possibly have been developed. A tortuous progression of trial upon error, no matter how high the expense has always been the inescapable price of human progress.

Perhaps the greatest contribution of early medicine lay in its development of *materia medica*, the medicinal substances. When science had advanced far enough to afford physicians a more correct understanding of the nature of the human body and its afflictions, a tremendous variety of pharmaceutical substances were at hand. Centuries of experience had weeded out most of the agents which

did not have some power to cause the body to react. The incredibly swift advancement of medical science within the last 150 years could not have been made without the presence of these tools. Have they been preceded by something else developed in the last two centuries? Ipecac is still used as an expectorant, cascarrillin purgatives are more popular than ever and the shelves of any average drugstore are still burdened with most of the substances, in one form or another, that Wagner compounded in his small apothecary shop. Of course, the basic thread through all of this is human nature, an enduring substance in its own right, bewitched with an unshakable tendency to cling to tradition in the face of contrary evidence. The lack of sophistication that characterized eighteenth century medicine is still very much at large and, for example, if it has been demonstrated once and for all that quinine has no remedial value except for malaria, it is still widely used for a multitude of unrelated fevers. The point is not whether most drugs are of any value in the healing process, but whether mankind could survive the shock of doing without.

Wagner's specimen book contained a bewildering array of formulas for pills, powders, extracts, tinctures, electuaries, tablets, syrups, waters, oils, spirits, essences, elixirs, balsams, decoctions, mixtures, potions, juleps, emulsions, infusions, baths, suppositories, poultices, cataplasms, unguents, plasters, salves and liniments. His apothecary shop kept a stock of many more compounds intended to restore health. Twentieth century *materia medica* contains all of the basic forms and most of the ingredients. Viewed from this perspective, science emerges as a fabric in which past and present have been woven together and it cannot be truthfully said that this end of the cloth is superior to that—without offending the laws of relativity.

To be sure, drug medicine plays a more limited role in modern practice, but the tendency to treat symptoms rather than causes is still very much evident. Accurate diagnosis requires an infinite amount of time and testing, luxuries forbidden the average practitioner who deals with a patient more interested in the cure than the disorder.

Patients demand that immediate steps be taken to alleviate distress, procedures which quite often can hardly be predicated on little more than an educated guess. Where causes remain unknown, the contemporary physician has no more choice than had Wagner. His efforts are directed toward alleviating the symptoms in the fond hope that the cause will go away.

The turning point in Colonial medicine came with the establishment of the Pennsylvania Hospital at Philadelphia in 1751. In the years that followed it became a clearing house for the exchange of ideas and observations, a center for the kind of free and intimate relationship that is vital to the evolution of medical science. In the first two years of its existence, the Hospital received less than 120 patients, of whom only sixty were discharged as "cured". The managers were continually plagued by a lack of funds, but they were convinced that the project had been launched in the proper direction: "The careful attendance afforded to the sick poor; the neatness, cleanness, and regularity of diet with which they are kept in the Hospital, are found to contribute to their recovery much sooner than their own manner of living at home, and render the physick they take more effectual".

Wagner's interest in this institution appears to have been stimulated by the pen of Benjamin Franklin. In 1754, Franklin published a small pamphlet titled *Some Account of the Pennsylvania Hospital from its first Rise, to the Beginning of the Fifth Month, called May, 1754*. In effect, the booklet was a broad appeal for funds, outlining a plan whereunder all contributors to the amount of ten pounds would be organized into a corporate body with complete authority in the affairs of the Hospital. Wagner's initial contribution of ten pounds was made several months following the publication of this pamphlet. It has not been possible to determine how active a role Wagner took in the affairs of the Hospital or whether he exercised any of the powers and privileges of his "contributorship", but his faith in the movement went far beyond this modest beginning. His

will, originally drafted on March 6, 1762, directed his executors to pay an additional twenty pounds to the treasurer of the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital.

A true love of humanity—an eagerness to share the burden—is the one substance indispensable to any good physician. The only perfect cure for all disorders, the “philosopher’s stone” of the ancients, is found in a mixture of this love and an equal amount of intellectual curiosity. It is at this point that the ultimate wisdom of medicine is snatched out of the zealous grasp of science. Unfortunately, these valued ingredients cannot be confined to one bottle, or a great number of bottles; neither can they be transmitted by a series of notations on a slip of paper. On the other hand, they cannot be said to belong to any one age or time; neither do they depend on the development of elaborate techniques and machinery. The agent is the spirit of the man and in this context, Abraham Wagner qualifies as a very fine and capable physician.

POET

ABRAHAM WAGNER'S poems do not belong to the world of formal literature. For one thing virtually all of them were composed to the rhythm of a popular church tune. The form was therefore dictated by an established pattern and he was not an architect of meter. In this context Wagner emerges as a hymn writer. Then too, all of his works were written in the spirit of humble piety characterized by the hymnology of the Medieval Ages and the Reformation period. In this context they are merely an extension of a vast literary expression that in its later stages amounted to little more than painfully contrived versification. There is no fresh imaginative quality, which is the essence of poetry, and the metaphors are naïve and overdrawn. A gimlet-eyed literary critic would therefore disclaim their validity as legitimate art.

But it isn't prose. The lines are rhymed, the meter is there, studied and halting as it may be; the verbal pictures are present and allegory creeps into many lines. Given one of two broad choices, it must fall into the category of poetry. Call it meditative verse if you choose a finer definition.

And if the imaginative essence is lacking, there is another quality

here which easily offsets the disadvantage. The subject, the pre-occupation is always religious, but mysticism is concocted of one part reason and several parts of emotion. Reason becomes manifest in the sermon, emotion belongs to the hymn and the poem. It was the only disciplined form of emotional expression that rose above run-away evangelism.

Thus, Wagner's poems, and all poems springing from the same background, have a depth, a sense of majesty and a heartfelt fibre that goes far beyond keen physical observation. The lines were molded by a solemn, exhilarating experience of the soul and they were tempered by an existence that was rarely touched by lightness and never by mirth. Man had much more to fear than society alone and if at times the solemnity seems unwarranted, it can at least be understood. Of course the German language contributes to this sense of pathos. It arouses where French is plaintive and English, for the most part, is merely suggestive. These poems then have a natural quality which causes them to ring with truth. It may not be the crystal-clear note customarily evoked by the formal literary craftsman, but it emits the slower, deeper vibration that shakes the foundations of emotion. It is at once a song of despair and hope, launched by a mind and soul that looks upward and begins by saying "Ach, Gott". The primary purpose of living was to escape upwards from this earth.

Like a bashful schoolboy, Wagner released most of his poetic attempts hesitatingly and in complete anonymity. None of them were ever signed and in one of his original manuscripts he speaks of "the author" with a marvelous detachment. This restraint led him to adopt a pseudonym and authorship was thus attributed to "Andreas Wächter"—Andrew the Watcher—with the first initials providing the clue to the correct source. This same predilection for hiding behind symbolic skirts took several other forms. He frequently staked out ownership to books in his Library with this tantalizing couplet:

*Mein Name ist hier ungenannt,
Aber dem Herr Wohlbekannt.*

A loose translation provides:

My name is here not shown,
But to the Lord it is well-known

The initials A. H. W. in the second line once again reveal his identity. Indeed, Wagner was so entranced by this little game that he composed a small verse dedicated to the "Authors Symbol".

Ach Herr Wenn ich nur Dich im Hertzen habe,
so mangelt mirs gewiss an keiner Gabe;
und wenn mir gleich mein leib und Seel verschmachten,
Will ich nicht achten.

Denn du Herr Jesu bist mein ewge wonne,
Mein Hertzens Trost, mein Theil, mein Licht und Sonne;
Das höchste Gutt das im Himmel und Erden,
genannt mag werden.

The first words of the opening line carry the initials in the proper sequence—a kind of horizontal acrostic. With apologies to Wagner, and all people that read German, here is the content of his thought in English:

Ah Lord, if only I have you in my heart,
then surely there is nothing wanting;
and when my body and soul soon faints away,
I shall not mind.

Since you, Lord Jesus, are my eternal bliss,
My heart's comfort, my lot, my light and sun;
The greatest blessing in Heaven and on earth,
That can be named.

Symbolism der Mathematik.

Math. 73. 10. 25.

Im Symbolismus der Mathematik.

Alles hier Wenn ich die Dinge im Leben

Alles so wenig als ein Stein auf dem Boden

Alles so wenig als ein Stein auf dem Boden

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Das kleine R. L. in der Schule.

Alles dem kleinen R. L. in der Schule.

Alles dem kleinen R. L. in der Schule.

Alles dem kleinen R. L. in der Schule.

Alles dem kleinen R. L. in der Schule.

Alles dem kleinen R. L. in der Schule.

Alles dem kleinen R. L. in der Schule.

Alles dem kleinen R. L. in der Schule.

Alles dem kleinen R. L. in der Schule.

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Alles dem kleinen R. L. in der Schule.

Alles dem kleinen R. L. in der Schule.

Alles dem kleinen R. L. in der Schule.

The trend matured in the following poem and the acrostic, spelling out Wagner's full name, took the more familiar vertical form.

Ach Herr Jesu! Schutz der Armen,
las dich meiner Noth erbarmen:
Siehe doch wie ich so gar,
bin umringet mit Gefahr!

Bey Dir, Herr! Ist hülff alleine:
Darum ich vor Dir erscheine:
Ach gedencke doch daran,
was Du hast für mich gethan.

Reiss mich aus des Satans Stricken,
las ihn fehlen seiner Tücken,
dass er mich von Deinem Licht,
nimmer mehr verführe nicht.

Ach! Gieb Krafft auf allen Seiten,
Welt und Fleisch recht zu bestreiten,
dass ich werde los und frey,
ihrer List und Trügerey.

Herr! Las mich doch seyn gezehlet,
unter die so Du erwählet:
Las Dein Leiden, Creutz und Pein,
an mir nicht verlohren seyn!

Ach Herr! Zeig mir Deine Wege,
und lehre mich Deine Steige!
Führe mich auf rechter Bahn,
dass mein Fuss nicht gleiten kan!

Mein Gott! Las mich Dich umfassen:
Ich will nicht von Dir ablassen.
Zuech mich kräftiglich zu Dir,
dass ich nicht verderbe hier!

Wenn ich Dich, mein Gott! Nur habe,
mangelt mirs an keiner Gabe:
Du bist mein Hort und mein Heil,
meines Hertzens Trost und Theil.

Alles was von Dir abkehret,
und die wahre Ruh verstöret;
hats auch noch so guten Schein;
las doch ferne von mir seyn.

Gieb mir nur recht zu erkennen,
was mich kan von Dir abtrennen;
und in allen Sachen mein,
zeige mir den Willen Dein.

Nimm mich gantz in Dich gefangen,
Dir beständig anzuhängen:
Ach! verbinde Hertz und Sinn,
dass ich gantz Dein eigen bin.

Ey! So kan uns nichts scheiden;
es sey Wohlgehn oder Leiden.
O! Bereite mich so hier,
wie ich dort gefalle Dir.

Richte meinen Gang recht eben,
auf den engen Weg zum Leben,
durch viel Trubsal, Creutz und Leid,
zu Dir in die Himmels Freud!

This conscious effort to obscure identity was more than a literary exercise. The thoughts expressed in these verses were of an exceptionally intimate nature and the poet was, in effect, baring his soul to the examination of hostile and friendly groups alike. Misunderstandings of mood and intention quite often lead to keen embarrassment and it was this fear in part, that prompted Wagner to remain semi-anonymous. Where prose was addressed to the judgment, poetry was directed towards the emotions.

His sensitive nature was further revealed by an incident which took place in 1742. This account was written by Wagner himself in the margin of one of his manuscript collections of verse:

Around this time the author set down several rhymes on the mystery of matrimony, along with a challenge and best wishes, for two newly married people. He intended to present this as a wedding *carmen* at a wedding to which he was invited. However, since he did not feel free in himself to do this, he kept it until 1748. Then after having revised it somewhat he presented it to another newly-married pair on their wedding day.

'This is the kind of reticence that is typical of an introverted personality and it suggests that the author was susceptible to some rather agonizing moments.

What did the newly-weds receive? A rather serious discussion of the theological implications inherent in their new relationship, a solemn admonition to conduct their marriage in the true spirit of Holy matrimony and an invocation calling for a divine blessing on the union. Each thought was expressed in "accordance with a Scriptural source". This was at once a form of protection for the author and a device that lent the stamp of ultimate authority to the text. It also reveals a conviction that all intelligent believers must constantly search the Unique Book. Thus, on the authority of Ephesians 5, verse 32, Wagner could assert with complete assurance that a man

and his wife become one in flesh and in spirit, even as Christ and the church were one. Wagner was probably motivated, in this instance at least, by a desire to instruct and guide the young couple. He wasn't attempting to impose any peculiar notion or thought of his own. The verses were set to the familiar melody: *Nun Dancket alle Gott . . .*

Des Himmel-Königs Sohn	
verliess Sein Reich und Krone:	Matth. 22/2
Stieg williglich herab	
von Seinem höchsten Throne:	John 10/18
Erschien auf dieser Welt	
in armer Knechts-Gestalt,	Phil. 2/7
zu retten Seine Braut	
aus höllischer Gewalt.	Hebr. 2/14
Sie war in dieser Welt	
verlohren und verirret;	Isaiah 53/6
durch Satans Tück und Neid	
verfallen und verwirret.	Gen. 3/4, 13
Das kont Er leiden nicht;	
ihr Noth brach Ihm Sein Hertz;	John 3/16
Er gab Sich für sie	
hin in allergroszten Schmerz.	Tit. 2/14
Er starb am Creutzes-Stamm,	
dass Er sie möchte retten;	Rom. 6/10
zerbrach der höllen Macht,	
ihr Riegel, Thor und Ketten.	1 Cor. 15/55
Er zahlte für sie	
mit Seinem theuren Blut;	Col. 2/14
und macht durch Seinen Tod	
all ihre Sachen gut.	1 Cor. 1/30
Nun will Er dass sie Ihm	
auch einzig soll anhangen;	Ps. 45/11

und neben Ihm sonst nichts
in Ewigkeit verlangen.
Sie soll sich machen hier
von allen Sünden rein:
So soll sie ewiglich Sein
Allerliebste seyn:

Luke 10/42

Ps. 73/25
2 Cor. 6/17
Ps. 45/12

Er reiniget sie selbst,
durchs Wasser-Bad im Worte:
Denn nichts unreines wird
eingehn durchs Himmels Pforte.
Sie wird mit güldnem Stück
gekleidet und geziert,
ins Königes Pallast,
als Königin, geführt.

Eph. 5/26

Apos. 21

Ps. 45/14

Ps. 45/15

Der Christen Ehestand
thut uns ein Gleichnis geben;
den Gott hat eingesetzt
in das zeitliche Leben.
Das Geheimnis ist gross
Christi und Seiner Braut;
nemlich: Seiner Gemein,
die Er Ihm hat vertraut.

Matth. 19/5

Gen. 2/18

Matth. 22/30

Eph. 5/32

Hosea 2/19

Gleichwie Christi Gemein
genau mit Ihm vereinigt,
die Er mit Seinem Blut
gewaschen und gereinigt:
Also ist in der Eh
der Mann mit Seinem Weib,
verbunden gantz genau,
zu Einem Fleisch und Leib.

1 Cor. 6/17

Apos. 1/5

Mark 10/9

Und wie sich die Gemein
Christo dem Haupt ergiebet;
Ihm unterthänig ist,
und über alles liebet:
So ist ein frommes Weib
gehorsam ihrem Mann;
sie ehrt und fürchtet Ihn,
Und ist Ihm unterthan.

Ephes. 1/22

Ephes. 5/24

1 Peter 3/5

Col. 3/18

Und gleichwie Christus hat
geliebet die Gemeine;
die da von Seinem Fleisch,
und von Seinem Gebeine:
Also muss auch der Mann
Sein Ehgenoss, das Weib,
liebhaben und verehren,
als seinen eignen Leib.

Ephes. 5/25

Ephes. 5/30

Col. 3/19

1 Pet. 3/17

Ephes. 5/28

Wo solche Ehleut sind
die will der Höchste segnen,
und sie von oben her
befeuchten und beregnen.
Das Gute sollen sie
mit ihren Augen sehn;
der Friede folgt ihnn nach,
und alles Wohlergehn.

Ps. 128/4

Ps. 65/11

Ps. 128/5

Ps. 23/6

Wo aber Zanck und Streit
im Ehestand regieret;
wo Untreu, Fleisches-Sinn,
und Neid den Scepter führet,
da weicht der Segen hin:
Das gute folget nicht.

Jacob 3/16

Gal. 5/19, 20

Ps. 37/20

Gott wird sie werffen weg
und straffen im Gericht.

Matth. 25/41
2 Thess. 1/8, 9

ANSPRUCH AN EIN PAAR NEUE EHELEUTE.

Geliebte zwey! Wenn ihr den Stand
mit Gott anfanget;
und Ihme Lebenslang
von Hertzen grund anhanget,
so wird Er bey euch seyn
und euch verlassen nicht,
wenn sich gleich Trübsal findt;
wie der Apostel spricht.

Gen. 24/50

Tob. 4/6

Heb. 13/5

1 Cor. 7/28

Du Mann! Kanst freuen Dich
dass Dich Gott hat gewähret,
und dir ein Weib beschert
wie Du es hast begehret:
Die dir in deinem Stand
deine Gehülffin sey,
und dir in Leid und Streit
getreulich stehe bey.

Prov. 19/14

Prov. 31/10

Gen. 2/18

Prov. 31/11, 12

Du Weib! Kanst gleicherweiss
dich deines Liebsten freuen,
der dir als Mann
und Haupt zum Troste kan gedeyen;
wenn ihr in Lieb und Treu
vergnügt beysammen lebt,
mit Einem Hertz und Geist
nach Gottes Reiches strebt.

Eccl. 4/9

Sirach 6/14

Sirach 25/2

Matth. 6/33

SEGENS-WUNSH.

Gott wolle über euch
mit Seiner Gnade walten,

Ps. 117/2

und euch in Seiner Huld
 biss an das End erhalten.
 Er gebe dass Sein Nahm
 durch euch auf dieser Erd,
 und auch in Ewigkeit
 hinfort gepreiset werd.
 Der Herr Gott segne euch
 an Leib, Seel und Gemüthe!
 Sein Engel sey mit euch
 der euch allzeit behüte!
 Sein Frieden sey mit euch
 und Sein Barmhertzigkeit,
 und bleibe über euch
 in alle Ewigkeit!

Ps. 91/1

Matth. 6/9

Tob. 14/17

Num. 6/24, 27

Ps. 34/8

Gal. 6/16

Amen

This particular example is rather poor poetry and is noteworthy only for the amount of research and paraphrasing involved. Even the versification is unimaginative and simple. But it serves to point out another important characteristic of Wagner's poetry beyond the obvious fact that he was unusually familiar with the Bible. Ostensibly, the poem was written for two people who were entering the holy state of matrimony. In his contemplated audience, Wagner would surely have included all married couples in general. Yet this is not the whole story for Wagner also had a third party in mind. Either directly or indirectly, all of his poems were designed as a form of communication with God. This is the essential impetus behind the hymn and it characterizes most meditative verse adapted to worshipful song. Prayer is also a form of mild poetry, for no one ever addresses the divinity in prose. The pray-er always tries to dress up his thoughts with allegory and meter. Doors become portals, you becomes thee, death becomes a shadow and the earth, a vale of tears.

The bulk of these poems took the direct approach and to be sure

of capturing his attention they generally addressed the Divinity in the opening phrase—*Ach Herr Jesu, Dich Gott Vater, Gott Vater, Herr Gott, Vater Unser*. Of the seventy poems that can safely be attributed to Wagner, thirty-nine use this form of direct address in the first line.

Thus, it is not surprising to find that many of Wagner's poems were, in effect, prayers and were to be used on occasions when some kind of prayer was indicated. These fall into standard categories and a few examples will be sufficient to illustrate their disposition.

A. UPON ARISING

Ich danck Dir Gott ins Himmels Thron,
durch Jesum Christ Dein'n lieben Sohn,
dass Du mich hast durch Deine Güt,
heint diese Nacht so wohl behut't.

Und bitt, O lieber Vater!
Dich, Behüt' mich auch heut gnädiglich,
für aller Noth, Gefahr und Sünd:
Und las mich seyn Dein liebes Kind!

Dein Geist regier mich diesen Tag,
dass Dir mein Thun gefallen mag:
Denn ich Dir meinen Leib und Seel,
und alles in Dein Händ befehl.

Dein Engel hab' auf mich stets acht,
dass Satan an mir find' kein Macht.
Schütz, und hilff auch, O treuer Gott!
Freund und auch Feind in aller Noth!

B. BEFORE EATING

O milder Heiland, Jesu Christ!
Der Du die Quell des Lebens bist,

Komm, wohn uns bey mit Deiner Gnad,
und segne uns und unsre That.

Segne uns auch die Gaben Dein,
lass Dein Wort unser Leben seyn!
Speiss' und tränck' Leib und Seel zugleich,
und hilff uns in Dein Himmelreich!

C. AFTER EATING

O Gott! Du Geber aller guten Gaben;
Du Ursprungs-Quell! Aus der wir alles haben.

Dein Güte uns an Leib und Seel ernähret,
und aller Creatur enthalt bescheret.

Wir Dancken Dir für Deine milde Gaben,
die wir von Deiner Güt empfangen haben,

Und bitten: Gieb uns dazu Deinen Segen,
dens uns Dein lieber Sohn hat bracht zuwegen.

Ohn welchen uns nichts kan zu gut erspriessen,
noch wohl gedeyen, was wir gleich geniessen.

Mach uns in Christo rein von allen Sünden,
und las Dich stets uns Armen gnädig finden!

Gesegne uns, O Vater aller Güte!
In deinem Sohn, und uns mit heil beschüttele!

Hilff dass all unser thun zu Deinen Ehren,
von uns geschehen mag, Dein Lob zu mehrren.

Gieb uns auch stets, O Vater! gleicher Weisc,
himmlische Speiss und Tranck auf unsrer Reise.

Dass wir auch innerlich gestärcket werden,
vor Dir zu wandeln in guten Geberden.

Du wollst auch aller Dürfftigen gedencken.
und sie an Leib und Seel speisen und träncken.

Und hilff uns, das wir einst mit allen Frommen,
in Deinem Reich, zur Himmels Mahlzeit kommen.

Und Dich, Gott Vater, Sohn und Geist, mit Namen,
mit allen Engeln, ewig loben! Amen.

D. *BEFORE RETIRING*

Weil nun, O Gott! aus Ordnung Dein,
die dunckle finstre Nacht,
sich für den Tag und Sonnenschein,
wied'rum hervor gemacht:

So heb ich mein Hertz und Gemüth,
gen Himmel auf zu Dir,
und dancke Dir für Deine Güt,
die Du erzeigest mir.

Dass Du mich auch heut diesen Tag,
nach väterlicher Art,
für mancherley Gefahr und Plag,
behütet und bewahrt.

Du hast viel Uibels, durch Dein Gnad,
von Leib und Seel gewendt:
Und mir dagegen viel Wohlthat,
und Gutes, zugesendt.

Ach! Aber ich befind Schuld:
Drum schrey ich jetzt zu Dir,

und bitte hertzlich um Gedult:
Ach rechne nicht mit mir.

Vergieb mir mein Unachtsamkeit!
Vergieb, wo sich mein Sinn,
zerstreuet hat in Eitelkeit,
durch diss und jenes hin!

Es reuet mich von Hertzen sehr,
was wider Dich geschehn:
Den Glauben stärc̃k, die Lieb vermehr,
do werd ich fester stehn.

Erleuchte mich, Du wahres Licht!
Dem alles Dunckle weicht,
dass ich im Finstern wandle nicht,
wenn Satan umher schleicht.

Und las auch heute diese Nacht,
Leib, Seel, und all das Mein,
O Gott! in Deine Hutt und Wacht,
Dir gantz befohlen seyn.

Mein Seele habe stets mit Dir,
auch in dem Schlaff, zu thun;
Dein Lob erhöh' sie für and für,
so kan ich selig ruh'n.

Hast Du auch heinte meinen Lauff,
zu schliessen mir bestimmt,
so nimm mich in die Freude auf,
die nie ein Ende nimmt.

Schleuss auch in Deine Vaters-Treu,
die gantze Christenheit!

Dein Güt werd allen Menschen neu,
die Nacht und allezeit!

One of Wagner's finest poems, and the first one he composed in Pennsylvania, used the Lord's Prayer as a framework. The first line of each stanza comprises the text of the familiar prayer—"Our Father, who art in Heaven".

Vater unser im Himmelreich,
Mach uns zu Kindern alle gleich
Dasz wir dich im Geist und Wahrheit
Anrufen mögen allezeit,
Erhör uns heut in deinem Sohn,
Unsern Mittler und Gnaden Thron.

Dein Nahm in uns geheiligt werd,
zu allen Zeiten hie auf Erd,
Würck neu Gedancken Wort und Werck
Damit man an uns spür und merck,
Dasz wir dein liebe Kinder seyn,
Die Dir nachfolgen thun allein.

Dein Reich komm in uns kräftiglich
Und überall beständiglich,
Dein Geist uns allezeit regier,
Und uns in alle Wahrheit führ;
Zerstör des Satans Reich und List,
Dämpf auch den argen Wieder Christ.

Dein Will gescheh auf Erden gleich,
Wie droben in dem Himmel Reich,
Den Unsern aber brich und tödt
Der sich gern brüstet und erhöht,
Dasz er gehorche deinem Wort
Und dringe durch die enge Pfort.

Das täglich Brod Herr gieb uns heut,
Speisz unser Seel aus Gütigkeit
Mit lebendigen Himmel Brod,
Dasz wir gestärckt in aller Noth,
Das Fleisch bezwingen und in dir,
Aufwachsen mögen für und für.

Vergieb uns unser Sünd und Schuld,
Und hab mit uns Schwachen Geduld,
Dein Geist würck Lieb und Einigkeit,
Dasz wir auch vergeben allezeit,
Dem Nächsten alle Schuld und Fehl.
Erfreu mit Gnaden unsre Seel.

Führ uns nicht in Versuchung schwer,
Die Feinde steuer selbs und Wehr,
Als Teuffel Welt und Fleisch geschwind,
Hilf dasz wir immer wacker sind,
Dasz wir nicht werden übereylt,
Der Sieg uns werde zugetheilt.

Von allem Übel mach uns frey.
Steh uns in allen Nöthen bey,
Komm uns zu Hülff am letzten End,
Nihm unser Seel in deine Händ,
Dasz wir nach diesem Jammerthal,
Dich loben in dem Freuden-Saal.

Denn dein ist das Reich und die Krafft,
Die Macht, Herrlichkeit und Herrschafft,
Der du regierst vor aller Zeit,
In einem Wesen der Gottheit,
Zu Lob und Ehr deinem Nahmen,
Bis in all Ewigkeit. Amen.

Amen, Das alles lasz geschehn,
Zu deinem Lob auf unser Flehn,
Denn du itzt noch zu aller Frist,
So mächtig mild und gütig bist,
Als du gewest zu jeder Zeit,
Und bleibest bis in Ewigkeit.

In another category, many of Wagner's poems were metrical translations into German from hymns or poems originally written in Latin. He translated the famous *Nunc Dimittis* (*Now let thy servant depart in peace*), the canticle of Simeon found in the second chapter of Luke.

Herr Gott nun lass im wahren Hertzens-Friede,
Deinen gantz gringen Diener Lebens müde,
nach deinem Wort hinfahren und abscheiden,
zu Deinen Freuden.

Denn meine Glaubens-Augen han gesehen,
Den treuen Heyland. Mir ist nun geschelien.
nach meinem Wunsch, was ich so lang begehret,
ist mir gewähret.

Den Heiland, welchen Du langen Zeiten,
Hast allen Volckern gnädig thun bereiten,
Kan ich nun mehr zur Seligkeit genissen
mit Liebes-Küssen.

Das wahre licht, zu erleuchten die Heiden
und Israel gestellt zu Preiss und freuden;
Das scheint auch mir: Lass mich nun selig enden,
mein'm Lauff vollenden.

He also translated some of the more popular hymns composed by ancient church fathers. Wagner divested Saint Ambrosius' *Nocte*

Surgentes vigilemus of its fourth century Latin garments and brought it forth anew in the more familiar German: *Auf, lasst uns wachen und des Nachts aufstehen!* He revised the 95th Psalm in the form of a hymn, challenging all Christians to arise and affirm their faith in God: *Kommt herzu, lasst uns singen.* And he contributed his own version of the "great doxology", *Gloria in Excelsis Deo.*

Ehre sey Gott in der Höh,
und auf der Erden friede.
Und dabey den Menschen all
ein hertzhliches Wohlgefall
Wir loben dich, wir preissen dich,
Dich beten wir an brünstiglich
Wir sagen dir Lob und Danck
frölich mit diesem Gesang.
Von wegen deiner herrlichkeit
sind wir zu dienen stets bereit.
Herr Gott himmlischer König,
Herr Gott Vater, allmächtig.
Herr du' eingebornher Sohn,
Jesu Christe unser Cron.
Herr Gott O Heiliger Geist,
Der gläubigen Tröster heisst.
Jesu du allerhöchster
Mittler und hoher Priester.
Herre Gott du Lamm Gottes,
(du bist ein kind des Vaters.)
Der da tilgt und hinweg nimht
Der welt Missethat und Sünd.
Nihm auf unser flehlich bitt,
bey dem Vater uns vertritt,
Der du sitzt zur rechten Hand,
Deines Vaters ein Heyland,

Seÿ gnädig erhöör uns,
und erbarm Dich über uns.
Du allein bist Heilig
Du regierest Herrlich.
Du allein bist der Herr,
König, Fürst, und Regierer,
Du allein bist der Höchste,
Sohn Gottes Jesu Christ
mit sammt dem Heiligen Geist,
einig und allmächtig heisst,
in Gott des Vaters Herrlichkeit,
regierest in all Ewigkeit.

Wagner also found that many incidents in the life of Christ were an excellent source of subject matter. In one supreme application of will and determination, he worked out no less than thirty-five, six line stanzas on the crucifixion—in Latin and German. In a much shorter poem commenting on the story of the flight into Egypt, Wagner took Herod to task in no uncertain terms: "Believe me, it's going to happen, you can't avoid your punishment, when you stand before his court".

Da Christus nur gebohren war,
so fing sich auch bald an alldar,
Sein Creutz, Elend und Leibs-Gefahr.

Er lied bald Noth im Kindheits-Stand,
muss mit seinen Eltern zuhand,
entfliehen in Egypten-Land.

Für Herodem, der ohne Schuld,
aus Bossheit Ihn erwürgen wolt
Den der aller Welt Heil sein solt.

Als er hörte die neu Geschichte,
und durch der Weisen Leute Licht,
auch aus der Schrift, empfing Bericht.

Dass nun der neugebohrne Herr,
zu Bethlehem zu finden wär,
stellt er Ihm nach, mit List und wehr.

Herodes! Wie bist du so blind?
dass du wilt das heilige Kind,
tödten, und umbringen geschwind.

Dein Reich ist sein'm Reich ungleich sehr;
es sucht auch kein weltliche Ehr,
ob's wol ist aller Welt ein Herr.

Er kommt und stift't ein geistlich Reich:
Er will uns allesammt zugleich,
an unsern Seelen machen reich.

Er will bezahlen unser Schuld,
und für uns leiden mit Geduld;
erwerben Gottes Gnad und Huld.

Warum thust du denn Widerstand,
dein'm Wohlthäter, und mord'st zuhand,
die unschuldigen Kindlein im Land.

Du wirst, glaub mir es wird geschehn
Seiner Straff nicht können entgehn,
wenn du vor Sein'm Gericht wirst stehn.

Ach, Herr Gott! sieh doch an, was Blut;
man unschuldig vergessen thut:
Wehr doch, und steure dem Hochmuth!

Mit deiner Gnad und Hülff erschein!
Starck, trost, und erhalt Gross und Klein
biss an das End! Hilff Herr allein!

How much popularity did those versifications enjoy? In 1742, Saur published Wagner's *A,B,C, in der Schule Christi*, in the form of a broadside, but there are no present indications that anything else appeared in print prior to 1762 when the Schwenkfelders published their *Neu-Eingerichtetes Gesang-Buch*, a sturdy duodecimo containing more than 900 hymns. The committee in charge of compiling, editing and selecting included thirty-five Wagner poems, a fair indication that his attempts were highly regarded in many circles. Beyond this, three manuscript collections of his verse have been preserved, a number large enough to permit the speculation that there were others in existence. Some of his efforts were transmitted to Germany by his friends but all traces of their reception or ultimate fate has been lost. In summation, it would appear that Wagner's poems may have fared a little better and certainly no worse than those of his contemporaries.

One of Wagner's more refreshing poems sets forth the names of the outstanding leaders in the Schwenkfelder movement from the time of the Reformation on down to the first decades of the eighteenth century. The basic attitude is that of a plaintive, somewhat melancholy, query: "Won't anyone read Schwenkfeld? Doesn't anyone care who Frell was? Will George Heydrich be forgotten? Won't Baltzer Jäckel be considered? Will Weiss be laid aside?"

Wird der Schwenkfeld nicht gelesen,
Acht man nicht wer Frell gewesen,
Wird der Crautwald nicht erwegt,
Eisenmann nicht überlegt.

Wird Johann Heyd nur verachtet,
Adam Reiszner nicht betrachtet,

Fragt man nach dem Hiller nicht,
Folgt gewisz ein schwer Gericht.

Wil man Wörnern nicht aufschlagen,
Wenig nach dem Wecker fragen,
Nicht mit Hoburgs-Treu bekenen,
Von der Laulichkeit sich trenn.

Musz Daniel Fridrich nicht gelten,
Wil man Herxheimer nur schelten.
Wird Sudermann nicht gelibt,
Oelsners Lehre nicht geübt.

Wird der Ekkel nur verlachtet,
Martin John nicht nach gewachtet,
Weichenhan gar nicht gehört,
Kömmt Gott der die Boszheit stört.

Wil man Dehnsten nicht bedenken,
Nach Hans Mühmern sich nicht lenken,
Wird der Jünger Martin John
Auch nicht mehr geachtet schön.

Wil man Görg Heidrichs vergessen,
Baltzer Jäkkeln nicht ermessen,
Wird Weisz auf die Seit gesetzt,
Kömmt Gott mit der Straff zuletzt.

There was probably a bit more involved here than a mere expression of the poet's own thought and feelings, because it produced some curious results. While Wagner may have intended it as a spur to increase interest in the history of the movement, the poem was apparently interpreted in conservative circles as evidence of cynicism

or lack of faith in the peculiar message of the Schwenkfelders. Balthaser Hoffman and Christopher Kriebel replied in kind, but with affirmation and optimism. Both of their versions are printed here, not primarily to provide a scale for the comparison of relative merits, but as concrete evidence of the depth of literary virtue that found its way into Colonial Pennsylvania in the company of a small band of German peasants. In other words, Wagner did not stand forth as a unique phenomenon—there were many other versifiers in the community.

In point of time, Wagner's poem was written first and it appeared around 1760. He was then in his early forties. Hoffman was almost seventy-five years old when he composed his equivalent rendition and Christopher Kriebel was a few years younger than Wagner. The three principals in this little verse contest lived on farms within a few miles of one another, had never enjoyed any formal education nor been exposed to any cultural institution of marked influence. The incentive was self-generated and this little series must stand as a strange and beguiling monument to the lofty aspirations of the human spirit.

Hoffman, the firm believer, the aged conservative, began in an entirely different tone: "Schwenkfeld confesses pure Christianity, Frell lamented the great misery, Crautwald received his perception from God . . ."

Schwenkfeld bekennt Christum reine,
Frell thuts grosz Elend beweinen,
Crautwald hats aus Gott erkant,
Eis'nmann zeigt der G'lehrten Tand.

Heyd zeugt von der Schriffit Geheimnisz,
Reisznern Gab thut ihm Beyständnis,
Hiller hat ein sonder Licht,
Libt Christum scheut Creutze nicht.

Wörner lehrt recht Christlich Lehre,
Wekker rett Christo sein Ehre,
Hoburgs Pfund sucht dein Gewinst,
Mit Eyf'r um den Gottesdinst.

Fridrich zeugt von Gottes Rahte,
Herxheim'r klagt den Fall von Gotte,
Sudermann Gotts Lieb beschaut,
Oelsner keinem Lehrer traut.

Ekkel unrecht Tauf anreget,
John der G'lehrten Boszheit zeigt,
Weichenhan hat Guts erkant,
Warnt form Fall der vor der Hand.

Dehnsten ists End nah gewesen,
Muhm'r arbeit mit beten lesen.
John der Jünger thut auch Fleisz,
Warnt und bekennt manche weisz.

Heidrich thut treue Bekanntnisz,
Jäkkeln ists ums Tauffs-Geheimnisz,
Weisz zeigt den verfallnen Stand,
O wol wenns noch würd erkant.

In 1769, six years after Wagner's death, Christopher Kriebel copied the two extant versions, added his own and sent them off to friends in Silesia. He prefaced the three poems with this observation: "An admonition not to scorn or disdain faithful witnesses of the Truth and their writings, and a concise conception of the content of the teaching of these faithful witnesses of Truth". This leads to the suspicion that the whole affair may have been a cooperative venture to begin with, and if so, the achievement is all the more remarkable

for the spirit of helpful concurrence between the liberal and conservative factions. Kriebel's version was much like Hoffman's: "For Schwenkfeld, Christ was everything, Frell frequently urged repentance, Crautwald stood by Schwenkfeld's side . . ."

Schwenkfeld ist Christum der Eine,
Frell zur Busz vermahnt gemeine,
Crautwald steht Schwenkfeld zur Hand,
Eis'nmann hat von Kunst abg'wand.

Heyd weist aufs geistlich Erkäntrnis,
Reisznerns Gab war Guts Verstandnis,
Hiller hat geistlich Gesicht,
Libt Christum scheut Creutze nicht.

Wörner wil zu Christo kehren,
Wekker hilfft vom Irrthum wehren.
Hoburgs Pfund sucht sein Gewinst,
Mit Bezeugung Gottes Gunst.

Fridrich zeigt der Kirchen Schaden,
Herxheim'r thut zur Bess' rung laden,
Sudermann rühmt Christi Braut,
Oelsner gantz auf Christum baut.

Ekkel Spott um Wahrheit traget,
John in Einfalt Ernst anleget,
Weichenhan Kinder ermahnt,
Warnt vorm Fall der vor der Hand.

Dehnsten ists um Gott gewesen,
Mühm'r hats Ehlosz seyn erlesen,
John der Jünger in Gott weisz,
Warnt und bekennt manche weisz.

Heidrich stirb kurtz nach Gefängnisz,
Jakkeln trifft Noth u. Gedrängnisz,
Weisz führt Jugend bey der Hand
O wol wenns noch würd erkant.

Where did the incentive for engaging in this kind of discipline originate? These men had not retreated to the confines of a monastery, nor were they surrounded by the patronizing atmosphere of a cloister. They were pioneers in a rugged country that could barely tolerate, let alone encourage, this kind of luxury. Quite obviously it couldn't have been a development of their environment in Pennsylvania. The answer must be found in the sturdy religious heritage that suffered no loss of vitality in being rooted out of Silesia and transplanted in Penn's woods. And Wagner, Hoffman and Kriebel were by no means the only hymn-writers and poets among the 200 Schwenkfelders who came across the ocean. At least a dozen of their contemporaries had similar inclinations. Wagner produced upwards of 3500 lines of poetry but conservative theologian Balthaser Hoffman exceeded Wagner's total production by at least twenty poems. There's something incongruous about this picture. Of all places in the world of the eighteenth century, one could least expect to find literary activity of this kind flourishing among the uneducated German pioneer folk of rural Pennsylvania. And the Schwenkfelders were not exceptional in this respect. The other sectarians were no less prolific in turning out hymns and poems.

It was a form of devotional literature that held a peculiar appeal for men who invited martyrdom, gladly endured persecution and quite rightly felt themselves set apart from the main currents of life. It was the personal expression of what was exclusively a personal religion and its roots were firmly imbedded in the Christian tradition of the Psalmists, the Saints and the Reformers.

As a consequence, it reflects very little of the impact of the New

World experience. Only one of Wagner's compositions takes cognizance of the shift in scene, a *reise-lied* or "travel hymn". It was the last poem he wrote in Saxony, on the eve of departure in 1737, an event which must have induced some keen anticipation and fresh stimulation. Even so, the author could not break away from tradition; the old thought patterns remained inviolate and the traveler was denied any identity in place or time that he might have received. The result was a standard plea for protection enroute, along with a plaintive hope that peace and rest might await the exiles at their destination.

1. In deinem Nahmen Jesu Christ
Reisen wir unser Strassen,
unser Hütter und Hirt du bist,
Du wollet uns nicht verlassen,
in deine Händ befehlen wir
Leib, Seel und Gutt was du uns hier
auf Dieser Welt bescheret.
2. Wir wissen dass wir hie auf Erd
Sind mit gefahr umfangan
Und dass man auch allhie nicht werd
Völlig die Ruh erlangen
wir sind gleich einem der Stets muss
forsetzen seinen Stab und fuss
Der nirgend hat sein bleiben.
3. Doch hilffstu' dass wir immerzu
Die Noth noch überwinden
biss dass wir dort die wahre Ruh
Und rechte heimath finden
Das ist den Müh und Sorge aus
Da sind wir eigentlich zu hauss
Die Unruh hat ein Ende.

4. An solche Ruh-Statt dencken wir
 Jetz und beÿ unserm wallen
 Und bitten Herr uns also führ
 Wie es dir thut gefallen
 Leit uns allzeit auf rechter bahn
 Und alles was wir fangen an
 Das seegne du von oben.
5. Dir ist am besten Herr bekannt
 Wie es mit uns aus siehet
 Das jetzt von uns in fremdes Land
 Ein solche Reiss geschiehet
 Die gantz gefährlich ist und schwer
 Nemlich um Deines nahmens Ehr
 Und deiner warheit willen.

Es ist zu wissen dasz der autor dises Lied bey der Reisz (aus Sachsen) nach Pensylvanien 1737 aufgesetzt, deszwegen kan auch an stat dises Verszes also gesungen werden.

5. Dir ist am besten Herr bekannt,
 Warum wir itzt auszureisen
 Drum wollest Du mit deiner Hand
 Dein Wege selbst uns weisen.
 Lasz unser Werck gerathen wohl
 Was ein ieder ausrichten soll
 Und bring uns fröhlich wieder.
6. Und weil es ja nicht Menschen-Kunst
 Auf sichern wegen gehen
 So bitten wir dein Gnad und Gunst
 Die wolle uns beystehen
 Wend ab o frommer treuer Gott
 All Unfall, Trübsal, Angst und Noth
 Das uns betreffen möchte.

7. Wend auch indess all Unheil ab
Von unsern Anverwandten
Gieb dass kein feind kein theil nicht hab
an freunden und bekannten.
Lass sie dir Gott befohlen seÿn
Hilfft dass sie sich dem willen dein
Auch ganzlich überlassen.
8. Daneben allen uns verleÿh
Dass wir behutsam wandeln
Dein furcht und weissheit beÿ uns seÿ
In allem was wir handeln
Durch deines heilgen geistes gnad
Gieb rechte zeit verstand und Rath
Zu allem thun und lassen.
9. Lass uns dein lieben Engelein
Auf unserem Weg begleiten
Dass sie getreue wächter seÿn
Um uns zu allen zeiten
Nimm uns O Herr in deinen Schutz
Auf dass des Satan's List und Trotz
Uns ja nicht könne Schaden.
10. Nun dir ergeben wir uns gar
Du kannst uns hülffe senden
Dein Gnad uns führe und bewahr
Hier und an allen Enden
Und lass uns denn wenn dirs gefällt
Noch dieser Unruh in der welt
bey dir dort Ruh erlangen.
11. So wollen wir dir Lob und Danck
für solche Gnad beweissen

und dich all unser Lebenlang
Mit Herz und Munde preissen
anfänglich hie in dieser Zeit
Und dart darnoch in Ewigkeit
Herr Christ das Hilff uns. Amen

It could be argued with some logic that this poetry is therefore not American and that it does not merit consideration in the broader field of American literature, that there are more important considerations than mere geography. Poetry, in order to have genuine nationality, must evidence an honest reflection of the parent culture. American culture, as it was constituted in the early eighteenth century was not an entity. It was composed of heterogeneous units, lifted out of the Old World and set down in isolated clusters along the eastern shore. The true American civilization developed only after these communities had been joined in "spirit and body" by common experience. Without an exception, all of Wagner's poems could just as easily have been written in Silesia and Saxony, as indeed at least one-sixth of them were. The American experience contributed little, if anything, to their content, spirit or form and they could be disqualified on these grounds alone without raising the question of their acceptability on the basis of the language barrier.

But this position falls short of the mark. It's rather like discussing the merits of a cake recipe without taking into consideration the real purpose of the eating which in the final analysis is nourishment and not taste. This poetic activity nourished religious pulses that are at the heart of America's strength. It helped to keep alive the notion that there was dignity in creative work, that the mind should rise above the easy and all too natural minimum of imitation. It was instrumental in sustaining the impulse that education and knowledge were helpful in developing devout and reserved personalities. It supported the principle that there was no particular glory in *not* being erudite. It is in this context that the poetry of Abraham Wag-

ner and his German contemporaries enters into the fibre of American civilization.

The Pennsylvania Germans of the eighteenth century were often characterized as uncouth and boorish—a characterization that was deeply obligated to Ben Franklin and a generation of Englishmen content to accept the designation. If literary activity were applied as an index of culture, the English communities in Colonial Pennsylvania would suffer a withering defeat by the comparison. There's a noble aspect to this picture of Abraham Wagner, plumb in the middle of a forest, seated in a log house of his own design, taking time between farm tasks, professional calls and family obligations to express his thoughts with the well-ordered restraint of the poet.

FOUR FRIENDS

DURING THE WINTER of 1803, two run-down, shabby itinerants from New Jersey shuffled down the main street of Germantown. One of them had been a soldier in the Revolution. He knocked at the door of a house and asked for directions to a place known as the "Schwenkfelderthal". Pausing just long enough to receive the proper instructions, the men continued north on the "old Germantown Road" in the direction of Methacton, Worcester and Towamencin. The person relating this little episode had nothing more to say beyond the fact that the two men were acting in response to a rumor concerning a group of people known as Schwenkfelders supposedly living in a valley outside of Philadelphia, that these people were unduly solicitous of anyone in distress and that they had gained a wide reputation for their charity.

Fortunately for the vagrants, the rumor was true enough and it would not be presumptuous to assume that they received some material assistance when they arrived at their destination fifteen or twenty miles further north. But they did not suspect that the man who was largely responsible for the unselfishness and benevolence had died forty years before they undertook their unconventional journey. Strangely enough, the last chapter of Abraham Wagner's life opened

after his death. His will was "a unique example of broadminded Christian Charity in the colonial history of Pennsylvania", and its influence was marked for the better part of a century.

It was a positive kind of will that was not prepared on the spur of the moment. Wagner's last years were rather melancholy. His good wife Maria took sick on March 11, 1760. The diagnosis was the much dreaded pleurisy and at half-past eight on the morning of the nineteenth she expired. It turned out to be a pretty miserable day all around. Next door, Melchior's three year old son, named for his Uncle Abraham, was desperately ill. He passed away that very same evening and on the twenty-first, a badly shaken Abraham Wagner watched the interment of his nephew and his wife in adjoining graves. Maria was only thirty-four and their marriage had been barren. Wagner himself was feeling rather poorly and in 1762 he noted that he was in "a middle state of health". Thus, on March sixth of that year, he wrote his last will and testament.

Death was quite obviously a point of no return, but for Wagner it was not a blind alley. He spelled out the course of his ultimate destiny with the assurance of complete faith:

I, Abraham Wagner of Worcester in the County of Philadelphia Medicus Practicus being in a middle State of Health in my Body, but of a Sound Mind and Memory, Thanks be given unto God. Therefore calling unto mind the Mortality of my Body and the uncertainty of the Time of Death, do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament. This is to say principally and first of all I give and recommend my Soul into the Hands of God that gave it; and for my Body I recommend it to the Earth (to be buried in a christian like Manner at the discretion of my Executors) until the time of resurrection of it.)

Returning to worldly matters, Wagner directed his executors to satisfy all just debts, pay the funeral expenses and then convert the

remainder of his estate into cash. Of this sum, two-thirds was to be given to "my full Brother Melchior Wagener" and the "third third part" was to be distributed among the poor in the following manner:

1. I will that my Executors first within a short Time after my Decease (as soon as can be) shall give Twenty Pounds of the said Money unto four faithful Mans, as 1, John Christopher Hübner in Worcester. Melchior Kribel or his Son David in Northwales. 3. Christopher Kribel at Shipach and 4. Melchior Scholtz junior in Coshehope. And these all I do pray herewith to be so kindly and to distribute this Money within a Years time after decease unto poor and needy Folks, and this both amongst our and other Folks of any Sort of Religion or Persuasion, where they think it will be good and needful.

2. I will that my Executors shall buy in the same said first Year for Ten pounds Books; as Bibles, new Testaments and Psalm-Books Dutch and English, Item Hymn-Books of ours and of the Lutheran and of the Reformed, and shall give them to the said 4 mans who shall distribute them unto poor Folks for Children and grown Folks according to their good Opinion.

3. And whereas I give and bequeath to the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital the sum of Twenty Pounds ready Money to be paid to their Treasurer for the Time being, and applied towards carrying on the charitable Design of the said Hospital therefore I will that my Executors shall pay this Money from the same Money bequeathed to the poor likewise within the first year after my Decease.

4. I will further that my Executors . . . shall give all the Rest of the said Money bequeathed to the poor unto them above mentioned four Mans, every Year so many Pound, according to the Quantity of the Sum, that all the

Summary be distributed in about ten or twelve Years after my Decease but if the said Mens do find it good They may keep in the last year Fifteen or Twenty Poand some few Years longer for Necessity, and this most for our Folks.

There was nothing commonplace about this provision. It was a logical extension of practical pietism and the kind of thing one would expect from a devout Christian, but Wagner hit the mark where many others fell short. For one thing, his "four faithful mans" lived up to the spirit, as well as the letter, of his intent. Then too, there was more than a thousand pounds involved in the distribution, a pretty fair indication that the doctor had enjoyed an active and widespread practice. But this runs ahead of the story. There were a few other items on Abraham's mind.

I give and bestow to such Debtors for Medicine, that can not pay very well, all their Debts for Medicine in my Books and I will that none at all shall be charged or demanded in any Way of any Body that oweth me for Medicine, but if they that can pay well, will give it willingly, then my . . . Executors shall take it and add it all to the Money I bequeathed to the Poor.

I give and bequeath unto the Sister and Brethren of my beloved and deceased Wife Mary, as to Anna Dresher and George and Christopher Kriebel and their Heirs, all them Books which I have got of my said Wife and not given back to them yet, the Specification of them is to be seen in my Codicil. Item: I give unto them some Beds. Item: some Cloaths and Linnen Goods as my Codicil will shew.

Further I constitute make or ordain my Brother Melchior Wagener and Christopher Dresher in Towamenson my Brother in Law to be my Executors of this my Last Will and Testament and Codicil. . . .

Having thus relieved his mind, Wagner procured the signatures of two neighbors as witnesses, Abraham Jäckel and Andrew Beyer, and placed the document in a safe place. He had one more year.

It was a very ordinary year. England was fighting a half-hearted war with Spain and France, but it never attained much stature and most colonists were prone to regard it as a nuisance. It had been going on for the better part of seven years and because the Germanic provinces on the Continent got involved, there were no immigrant-laden ships arriving at the port of Philadelphia. There was a lot of deep resentment dammed up behind the placid composure of the Indian Tribes to the west, but the breakthrough didn't occur until early summer in sixty-three. If the Pennsylvanians were alarmed about anything, it was the large number of negro slaves that English runners deposited on the docks—in defiance of a prohibitive duty levied by the General Assembly. In November, Dr. William Shippen of Philadelphia opened a course of lectures on anatomy. The first lecture was delivered in the State House and admission to this first regular course of instruction in the Colony could be had for five shillings. Many people shook their heads in disdain at this violation of propriety. In December he was awarded a cadaver for experimental purposes and medicine in the Colony suddenly had a history.

Tom Jefferson was rounding out his second and final year at William and Mary College. His first large appointment with destiny was fourteen years in the future. Ben Franklin returned to America from the British Court that summer. On his passage he whiled away many hours in observing the "singular effect produced by the agitation of a vessel, containing oil floating on water." Thirty-year old George Washington was settling down into the comfortable routine of plantation life in Virginia. Five years had passed since he and the militia were involved in a little fracas with the Indians of the Shenandoah Valley. Wagner just might have recognized the name.

Where were some of his old friends during the winter of 1762-63? Christopher Saur had gone on to his reward in September,

1758, having brought his age to sixty-four years. Colleague Dr. George de Benneville was comfortably located on a plantation in Bristol Township, a few miles beyond the Philadelphia city limits. During the winter months he maintained a town house, an indication that his social stature had risen above that of his former rural associates. Muhlenberg was still deeply engaged in church politics, still operating out of "the trap" in Providence Township and still rushing into awkward, painful and controversial affairs.

What of Gruber, *ein geringer*, "the humble one", who locked arms with Wagner and Saur in the old Skippack Society of Separatists? He was still very much alive, though his voice had been strangely silent in Pennsylvania churchdom for more than a decade. And he was still mindful of his old friendships. On April 3, 1762 he wrote a memorial poem to the memory of Friederich Schöps, a mutual acquaintance, and dedicated the lines to "Abraham Wagner, the Doctor of Medetschy".¹ Who was Schöps? A Schwenkfelder immigrant who dropped completely out of sight after his arrival in 1734 and about whom little more is known beyond this poem by Gruber. It becomes apparent that Schöps led a retired life: "Like a rose among thorns was my beloved friend's friend; he mingled not in the bewildering worldliness, however alluring this often seemed".

Wie eine Rose unter Dornen,
War meines liebsten Freundes Freund;
Er mengt sich nicht mit dem verworren
Welt-wesen, wie glänzend das (oft manchem) scheint;
Er übte geheim glauben und Lieb,
der Einfalts Sinn war sein betrieb.
Er suchte nicht ein Christ zu scheinen,
nein, sondern zu Seÿn in der that,
Er wolte Seÿn, und nicht nur meynen,

¹ German rendering of the word *Methacton*, a broad hilly plateau in the southern part of Worcester Township.

recht klein zu seÿn durch Jesu gnad;
und so führt er unscheinbahrlich,
seinen wandel, doch seliglich;
auch leydentlich, verborgentlich.
Nun ist er seiner Bürd entkommen,
Ich hoff und glaub beÿm Friederich
dessen Last er auf sich genommen,
hat über wunden seliglich;
Der Rube-Zahl (nach Gottes-wahl),
Er (ohne zweifel) zugesellt:
Wo man schon Abendmahl auch hält.
So ruhe dann in gottes frieden;
du meines liebsten freundes freund:
Wir sind noch auf dem weg hiernieder
doch warst du fertig allbereit,
drum auch dein Geist zum Ursprung hin,
flog ab turbirt der ausser Sinn.
Herr hilff uns wachen Tag und Nacht,
biss mit uns heist: Es ist vollbracht.

This beloved old friend of God, Friederich Schöps, departed from this world in the year 1762 on the twenty-seventh of March, during the night around eleven o'clock in the eightieth year of his age.

Two of Abraham's other old friends met at a cemetery adjoining the Mennonite Meeting House in Methacton on May 7, 1763. Christopher Schultz rode down from his farm, twenty-five miles to the north, early that morning. Balthaser Hoffman was seventy-six years old, but he was on hand. After the crude bier had been placed in the shallow grave, Christopher read a portion of the thirteenth chapter of Luke. The small clusters of silent people ringing the grave must have listened intently to the thoughts he expressed. As the earth was being gently replaced, the old folks chatted about a variety

of things while the younger spirits moved off, reverently but eagerly, in the direction of the tethered horses. When Balthaser Hoffman returned home that evening he wrote in a small sheaf of loosely bound papers that the text had been Luke 13:11—*und siehe, ein weib war da, das hatte einen geist der krankheit achtzehen jahr: und sie war krumm, und konte nicht wohl aufsehen*. Yes, Wagner had held some funny notions, but the Great Healer would certainly welcome anyone who had followed in his path.

The last year had run its course.

On the second day of June, Hans Christopher Heebner, Melchior Kriebel, Melchior Schultz, the younger, and Christopher Kriebel met with the executors of Abraham Wagner's estate. Abraham's brother had been in the city where the will was approved on the basis of the crude translation into English which he had thoughtfully prepared. Now the time had arrived to fulfill the provisions. Each of the four men were given an account book so that the transactions could be prudently listed. Hans Christopher Heebner's quill scratched out this legend on the first leaf of his volume:

Abraham Wagner, medicus, died on the fifth of May in the year of 1763. He had directed or provided that the third part of his estate should be distributed among the poor. Therefore he requested that four men . . . should consign it over a period of more than twelve years. The first year after his death, twenty pounds were to be dispensed. I received five pounds.

The executors had taken care of the second item—the purchase of books in the amount of ten pounds for distribution among the needy. After the division was made, Heebner cataloged the volumes he had received: "On June 2, I was given the following books by Abraham Wagner's estate: one German Bible, two German Testaments, three German psalters, two English Bibles, one English Testament, and

two hymnals—one Marburger Lutheran and one Marburger Reformed”. The other three trustees received a similar allotment.

It must have been an interesting session. There were a lot of details to consider. Who was eligible? What amounts were to be granted in any given situation? Melchior announced that they had almost 450 pounds at their disposal. In the end, the trustees put it on the broadest possible basis. No one in need was to be disqualified, either by race, creed or residence. It was the kind of situation that demanded the best and the finest they had to offer and Abraham had inadvertently given his friends a unique challenge. Or perhaps he knew exactly what he was doing.

For the next sixteen years, Hans Christopher Heebner kept an exact accounting of the moneys turned over to him. Who were some of the ultimate beneficiaries of Wagner’s largess?

Michael Lutz: this spring he was driven away by Indians near Frederick Town. His wife, Maria Barbara Lutz, was here to see me. I gave her five shillings.

Anna Catharine Hertz: a widow lame in one hand—three shillings.

Nicholas Weiss: lame in one side from apoplexy—four shillings.

Matthias Reiter: He has the gout—four shillings.

Benedict Weiss: he is a mulatto—two shillings.

Anna Maria Gaucher: from Macungie, has a blind baby—three shillings.

Hans Mack: from the Oley Mountains, lamed by arthritis—two shillings.

Joseph Imfeld: a tree killed three of his cattle in York Township—four shillings.

Barbara Redenbach: a widow with a lame hand—two shillings.

Henrich Koch: from Maxetawny, is supposed to have had the salt-flux, four shillings.

Alexander Dunlap: he lived near the great cove, was driven out by the Indians, three shillings.

Andreas Grüvan: blind, from Conawage, one shilling.

George Sautier: above Reading, received two shillings, six pence for a church and school.

Bernhart Schneider: uses crutches, two shillings, six pence.

John Lowri: a soldier, one shilling.

Johannes Ottman: from New Jersey, his house burned down, one shilling.

Benjamin _____: An English simpleton, one shilling, six pence.

Conrad Bebelsheimer: a newcomer, three shillings, nine pence.

Daniel Felix: had been a minister, two shillings.

Richard Bennit: lives beyond the Irish settlement, driven out and wounded by the Indians, five shillings.

Johann Adam Frantz: lives above the old furnace, lame, three shillings.

Joseph Wiggel: an old English soldier, one shilling.

Jacob Fenchel's wife: her husband is supposed to have frozen, two shillings.

Elisabeth Schubrück: from the forks of the Delaware, her things are supposed to have been burned by the Indians, two shillings.

Benedict Weiss: was given one shilling so his child could be sent to school.

Gideon Moor: the negro left behind by Pastor Weiss, two shillings.

John Robert: an English beggar, three shillings.

John McDaniel: an old English soldier, one shilling.

Margaretha Schmiedt: from the Muddy Creek, has a sick husband and two of her children became blind from small pox, three shillings.

Phillip Gibbens: in the city, quite needy, his wife came, received two shillings.

George Krämer: twelve miles below Philadelphia, three shillings.

Christoph Perrentz: from New York, one shilling.

Ludwig Traber: from Juniata, all of his property burned, one shilling.

Christopher Tryki: from Maryland, one shilling.

A Lame Man: had his wife with him, forgot his name, two shillings.

Melchior Schultz: for a poor family recommended by Dr. Schubert, four shillings.

Christopher Schultz: a memorial contribution to accelerate the printing of the *Erläuterung* or for the poor in Germany, forty shillings.

Catherine Tracy: a woman from Philadelphia, had a child that Dr. Bond operated on and removed a stone that weighed two ounces; two shillings.

Christoph Kriebel: two pounds, six pence for the poor in Germany.

Anna Wiegner: widow, gave her sixty pounds of corn meal, amounted to five pounds, ten shillings; the corn at the time was six pounds per bushel.

By 1774, Hans Heebner had listed more than 800 individual contributions! Records kept by the other trustees are not available, but there is no reason to assume that they were less diligent. Using Heebner's number as a median figure, this would raise the total number of charitable disbursements to more than 3000. It is extremely doubtful if any private philanthropy in the history of Colonial Penn-

sylvania was as comprehensive or far-reaching in its influence. The four trustees dispatched modest sums to Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey, New York and all sections of Pennsylvania.

Even so, they were hard pressed to find enough deserving situations to expend all of the money turned over to them. They wrote several letters to Germany seeking information about relatives or friends of Wagner who might still be living and in distress. They eventually located an aged cousin living in Berthelsdorf and sent him twenty pounds, but after his death they transmitted funds anyway on at least two occasions to be distributed among the needy in Saxony and Silesia. In 1774 the trustees turned over to the Charity Fund of the Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania, the bulk of the unexpended principal, but they continued to receive interest for direct disbursement until 1780.

But the real worth of such a program cannot be measured in point of time, geographical boundaries or in sums of money. Does love really have a quantitative aspect? Would the spirit of charity have been altered if only three had benefited instead of three thousand? Abraham Wagner was essentially an optimist and his will was an expedient device for sharing hope. He was keenly aware that cruelty and pain were out of order in what should be a well-ordered world, that the human spirit could not be free in an atmosphere of squalor and suffering, and that charity was the concern of all mankind.

Beyond this, his enthusiasm inspired others to rise above the minimum effort and accomplish the difficult, the extraordinary and the unselfish. This achievement alone would set him apart from the common man who is just that and nothing more. The common man, the conformist applies to himself the rubber-stamp of decadence.

Progress was much more than a vague abstraction for Abraham Wagner. It was a living belief that man could work out his own destiny and the source of its strength was a genuine reverence for the past and an ample amount of faith in the future. Swimming against

the stream of life is an exhausting folly and the floater exerts no more influence than a chip of wood. The honor belongs to those who strike out and propel themselves downstream until they are thrown up on a secure shore by the endless waves of eternity.

APPENDIX

INDEX OF FIRST LINES OF POEMS

1. Ach, allerhöchstes Guth!
2. Ach Herr Jesu! Schutz der Armen
3. Ach Herr wenn ich nur Dich im Hertzen habe
4. Allein Gott in der Höh sey Ehr
5. Auf! Lasst uns wachen
6. Da Christus nur gebohren war
7. Dass Du uns, allmächtiger Gott
8. Dass ist ein güldnes A.B.C.
9. Dass Jesus-Hertze treue
10. Dein wundersam Handel auch Gesellschaft
11. Der Weg zu Gott ins Vater Land
12. Des Himmel-Konigs Sohn verliess Sein Reich und Krone
13. Dich, Gott Vater und Schöpffer frohn
14. Ehre sey Gott in der Höh und auff
15. Ehre sey Gott in der Höh und sein
16. Erleuchte doch, O Gott! mein armes Hertze
17. Es sollen Dir nun allezeit
18. Es steht leider in dieser Zeit
19. Gieb Gnad Jesu Christ
20. Gott der Herr im Wesen sein

21. Gott Vater! Dir sey Lob und Danck
22. Heiligster Gott in deinem Licht
23. Herr allmächtiger Gott, gütlicher Zebaoth
24. Herr! Der Du selbst uns bitten heisst
25. Herr Gott nun lass im wahren hertzens
26. Herr Gott Vater im Himmels Thron
27. Herr Jesu segne uns
28. Herr, mein Gott, zeig mir Deinen Weg
29. Ich danck Dir Gott im Himmels Thron
30. Ihr Seelen die ihr mich befraget
31. In deinem Nahmen Jesu Christ
32. Komm, heiliger Geist Herre Gott, Du starcker tröster
33. Komm, heiliger Geist Herre Gott, erfüll uns heut von oben
34. Komm, heiliger Geist, milder Gott
35. Komm Schöpfer heiliger Geist aus Gött
36. Kommt herzu, lasst uns singen
37. Lob, Ehr, Anbetung, Preiss und Macht
38. Lobsinget nun dem grossen Ueberwinder
39. Meine Seel, wohl auf
40. Mensch! Dein Ende stets betrachte
41. Nun hört auf mit trauriger Klag
42. Nun ist wieder ein woch' dahin gewichen
43. Nun lasst uns für allen dingen
44. Nun sey Dir, Gott im Himmels Thron
45. Nun wird der Schatten dieser Nacht verdünnet
46. O Gott Du ewigs Licht
47. O Gott! Du Geber aller guten Gaben
48. O Gott Vater wohn uns bey
49. O Grosse Lieb, Geheimnis voll
50. O Herr Gott Vater süsse
51. O Herr Jesu Christ, speiss mit deinem leib
52. O Herr Mein Gott, ich bitt hilf mir
53. O Jesu Christ du Gottes Lamm
54. O Lämmlein Gottes Jesu Christ
55. O milder Heiland, Jesu Christ!
56. Vater unser der Du bist
57. Vater unser im Himmelreich

58. Vom Himmel kam der Engel-Schaar
59. Weil deine Stund ist kommen
60. Weil du O Gott mit diesen Gaben
61. Weil nu' das licht anbrechen thut
62. Weil nun, O Gott! aus Ordnung Dein
63. Weil nu' vom Schlaff der Leib erquicket
64. Weil mir den gutten Gaben viel
65. Weil wir viel guter Gaben
66. Wie ist doch unsre zeit oft so geschwind verlauffen
67. Wie kurtz und elend ist doch dieses Leben
68. Wir dancken Dir mit Hertz und Mund
69. Wird der Schwenckfeld nicht gelesen

ABRAHAM WAGNER'S WILL

"In the Name of God, Amen".

"The Sixth Day of March in the Year of our Lord 1762 I, Abraham Wagner of Worcester in the County of Philadelphia Medicus Practicus being in a middle State of Health in my Body, but of a Sound Mind and Memory, Thanks be given unto God. Therefore calling unto mind the Mortality of my Body and the uncertainty of the Time of Death; do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament. That is to say principally and first of all I give and recommend my Soul into the Hand of God that gave it; and for my Body I recommend it to the Earth (to be buried in a christian like Manner at the discretion of my Executors) until the time of resurrection of it.) And as touching such worldly Estate wherewith it hath pleased God to bless me in this Life I give devise and dispose of the same in the following Manner & Form.

"Imprimis. It is my Will, and I do order that in the first place all my just Debts and funeral charges be paid and satisfied.

2. I will and do order that the Value of my whole Estate of Moveable and Unmoveables as Land, Building, Cattle, Household Goods, Books, Medicines, Money ready and lendeth out etc. (except

what in this my last Will and Testament and in my Codicil is given and bequeathed to some named Persons) shall be brought all together in one Account or Sum and afterwards divided in three equal parts: and then, I give and bequeath unto my full Brother Melchior Wagener and to his Heirs, two third parts of the said Estate, and one third part that is the third third part of my said Estate I give and bequeath unto poor Folks, and this in ready current lawful money, which my Executors or my Brother Melchior or his Heirs or Executors or Administrators or Assigns with my other Executor shall take or raise from my Estate and give it for to be distributed to the Poor in such Manner as shall follow here below. Therefore all my said Estate must be taxed through faithfull Mans and an Inventory made, and my Executors shall have full Power and authority to get the Money lendeth out from my Debtors, and to sell the Plantation and other Things.

“Further I will and order that all the said Money of the Value of the Third part of my Estate bequeathed to the poor, shall be distributed in the following Manner as 1. I will that my Executors first within a short Time after my Decease (as soon as can be) shall give Twenty Pounds of the said Money unto four faithful Mans, as 1. John Christopher Hübner in Worcester. 2. Melchior Kribel or his Son David in Northwalis. 3. Christopher Kribel at Shipach and 4. Melchior Scholtz junior in Coshehope. and these all I do pray herewith to be so kindly and to distribute this Money within a Years time after my decease unto poor and needy Folks, and this both amongst our and other Folks of any Sort of Religion or Persuasion, where they think it will be good and needful.

“2. I will that my Executors shall buy in the same said first Year for Ten pound Books; as Bibles, new Testaments and Psalm-Books Dutch and English, Item Hymn-Books of ours and of the Lutheran and of the Reformed, and shall give them to the said 4 Mans who shall distribute them unto poor Folks for Children and grown Folks according to their Opinion. 3. And whereas I give and bequeath

to the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital the Sum of Twenty Pounds ready Money to be paid to their Treasurer for the Time being, and applied towards carrying on the charitable Design of the said Hospital therefore I will that my Executors shall pay this Money from the same Money bequeathed to the poor like wise within the first year after my Decease. 4. I will further that my Executors or my Brother Melchior or his Heirs or Executors or Administrators or Assigns with my other Executor shall give all the Rest of the said Money bequeathed to the poor unto them above mentioned four Mans, every Year so many Pound, according to the Quantity of the Sum, that all the Summary be distributed in about ten or twelve Years after my Decease but if the said Mens do find it good They may keep in the last year Fifteen or Twenty Pound some few Years longer for Necessity, and this most for our Folks.

“3. I give and bestow to such Debtors for Medicine, that can not pay very well, all their Debts for Medicine in my Books and I will that none Debt at all shall be charged or demanded in any Way of any Body that oweth me for Medicin, but if they that can pay well, will give it willingly, then my Brother or his Heirs or the Executors shall take it and add it all to the Money I bequeath to the Poor.

“4. I give and bequeath unto the Sister and Brethren of my beloved and deceased Wife Mary as to Anna Dresher and George and Christopher Kribel and their Heirs all them Books which I have got of my said Wife and not given back to them yet, the Specification of them is to be seen in my Codicil, Item 1 give unto them some Beds, Item some Cloaths and Linnen Goods as my Codicil will shew.

“Further I constitute make or ordain my Brother Melchior Wagner and Christopher Dresher in Towamenson my Brother in Law to be my Executors of this my Last Will and Testament and Codicil and I do hereby utterly disannul all and every other former Testaments Wills Legacies and Executors by me in anyways before this time

named willed and bequeathed, ratifying and confirming this and no other to be my Last Will and Testament.

"In witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal the Day and Year as above written.

Abraham Wagner" (seal)

"Signed, Sealed, Published and Declared by the said Abraham Wagner as his last Will and Testament in the presence of us the Subscribers

Abraham Jäckel (affirmed)

Andrew Beyer (affirmed)

Executors affirmed May 16, 1763"

"CODICIL TO MY LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT"

"I Abraham Wagner of Worcester in the County of Philadelphia Medic. Practicus, do this Sixth Day of March in the Year of our Lord 1762 make and publish this my Codicil to my Last Will and Testament in manner following (that is to say)

"1. Whereas in and by my Last Will and Testament I have given to the Sister and Brethren of my beloved Wife Mary as to Anna Dresher, George and Christopher Kribel and their Heirs some Books, Item some Beds, Cloaths and linnen Goods I do hereby further declare

"1. of the Books, that the Books which they shall have are the following as

1. the (so named) Papstler Epistolar Hirn C. S. in Folio.
2. Erasmi Weichenhans Postilla in quarto.
3. An abstract from Christian Hohburgs Postilla in Quarto.
4. Passional C. S. bound in yellow leather with locks.
5. A little Book written Octavo containing four Tractus and a Letter C. S. the first the 102 Psalm explained

through Ruffum Sarmentarium the Second of Patience etc.

6. George Weisens (catechism) in Octavo bound with locks.
7. The same authors Meditations Hymns in Octavo.
8. Prayers upon Sundays and holy Days Epistle Texts Octavo.
9. Michael Hillers Sermons of Repentance in quarto—stitched together—Item some other little Treatises and Sheets stitched—and unstitched—in writing as Considerations of the 17th Chapt of S. John, Thoughts of Resurrection of Christ, etc. Questions over some hymns & some Letters B. H. to Mary.

“2. of the Beds I will that they shall have them which my beloved Wife hath brought to me and so and in such Order as they will be at the time of my Decease. 3. of the Cloaths, the same which she has wore and which I have not yet given back to the Sister and Brothers or otherways sold or bestow'd away, but such what then will be left which Anna Drescher Item my Ant the Widow Beyer or Anna Mary Yakelin, or some other Body will know yet, as I dont know it myself.

“3. I give and bequeath unto my first Cousin George Yeakel the Sel. Godfrey Arnolds Evangelia Postilla und Johann Arnts Christendom—the least—and a new Hymn Book of ours, and I will that the Mens who shall distribute the Money Bequeathed to the Poor shall have care for him and help him with the said Money if he hath need of it but soon after my Decease he shall have ten pound ready Money of my whole Estate.

“4. I give and bequeath unto my Maid Servant Christina Wörin if she will be in my Service yet when I die, 1 D. Joh Jac Rambacks Evangelien Postilla und Johann Arndts Christenthum das grosse so in Philadelphia gedruckt ist. Item also over her belonging Hire yet

five Pound current lawful Money, and if she hath been above five Years in my Service then so many Pound ready Money as many Years she hath been in my Service.

“5. I give and bequeath also unto Rosina Wiegnerin, if she is in my Service yet when I die. 1. Christian Hoburghs Postilla, and a new Hymn Book of ours, and over her belonging Hire yet five pound current lawful Money, and if she hath been above five years in my Service, then So many Pound ready Money, as many Years she hath been in my Service.

“6. I give and bequeath unto N Bauer, the old Cooper in Worcester, Joh Anastasii Freylinghausen Evangelien Postill.

“7. I give and bequeath unto the Rev. Mr. H. M. Muhlenberg in Provid. Philad. a Book, called D. Pauli Antonii Collegium Antitheticum, gedruckt zu Halle 1732 in quarto, it hath been his Book before.

“And whereas I have in my Last Will and Testament ordered 4 Mens to distribute the Money bequeathed to the Poor I do hereby further declaire that my Will is if any of them should die before all the money is distributed that either any of his Heirs or Executors or another fit might come or be chosen in his Place.

“And lastly it is my Desire that this present Codicil be annexed to and made Part of my Last Will and Testament to all Intents and Purposes. In Witness whereof I have hereunto put my Hand and Seal the Day and Year as above written.

Abraham Wagner”

(Seal)

“Signed, Sealed, Published and Declaired by the said Abraham Wagner as his Codicil to his Last Will and Testament in the presence of us the Subscribers.

Abraham Jäckel (affirmed)

Andrew Beyer (affirmed)

Executors affirmed May 16, 1763”

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